

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

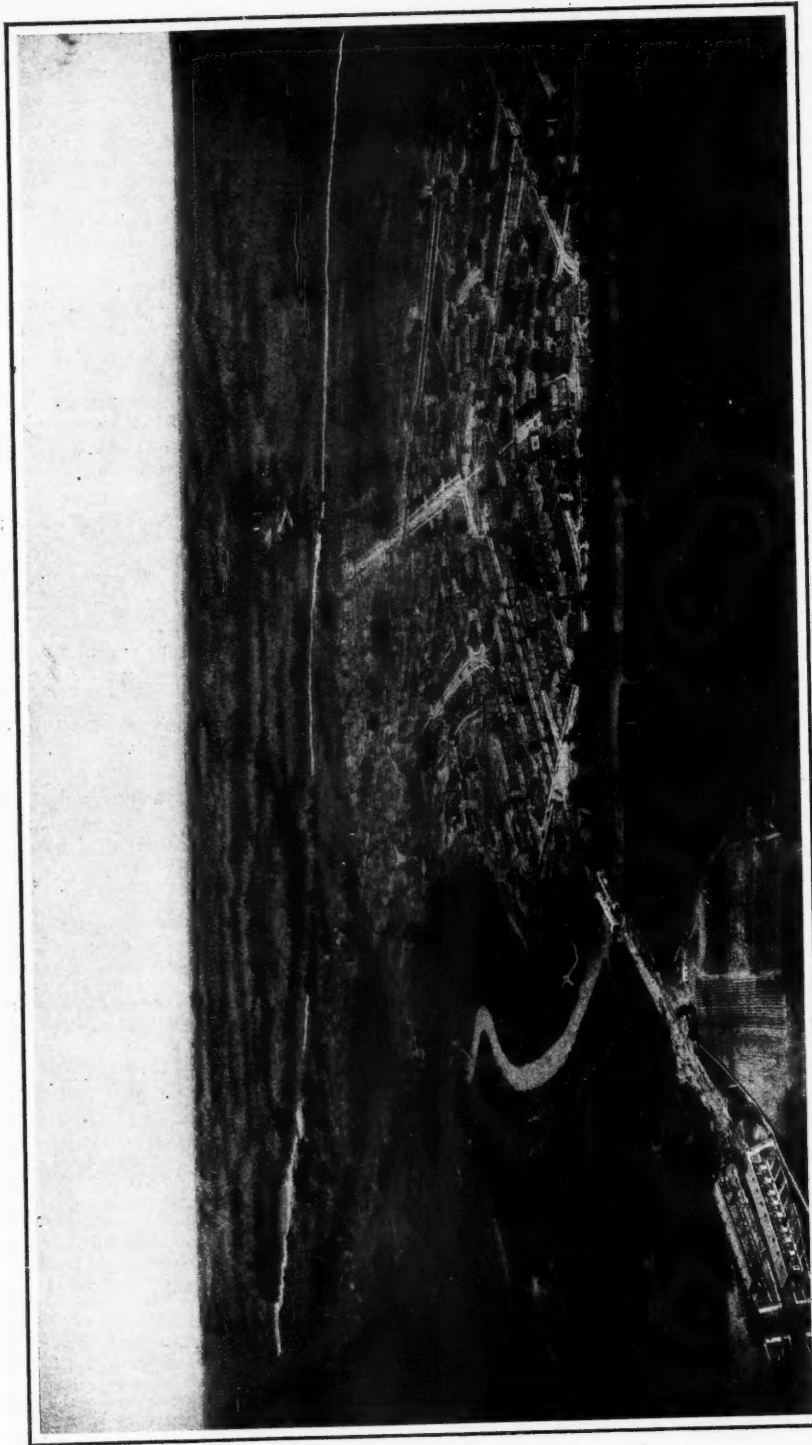
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AN AIRPLANE VIEW OF YORKSHIP, THE NEW MODEL INDUSTRIAL TOWN BUILT BY THE GOVERNMENT TO ACCOMMODATE THE WORKERS
OF THE NEW YORK SHIPBUILDING CORPORATION, NEAR CAMDEN, IN THE PHILADELPHIA DISTRICT
(This interesting experiment is described by the architect, Mr. Litchfield, in this number of the Review—see page 599)

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. LX.

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NO 6

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*"Let Us
Have Peace!"*

When these comments are in the hands of our readers early in December, Congress will be assembled again at Washington in the opening days of what must prove to be one of the busiest and most important sessions ever held by an American Congress in times of peace. We do not forget that technically these are *not* times of peace, because for certain legal purposes the war-time status continues until peace has been proclaimed as an official fact. But peace, for ordinary purposes, began with the proclamation of the Armistice on November 11, 1918. Peace in the full legal sense is for many reasons greatly to be desired; and it must seem strange that the United States, having been less directly involved in the issues of the world war than any other great power, should be the only country among those of first or even of second rank to whom the boon of full and complete legal peace has thus far been denied.

*How to Usher
in a Better
Year*

The year 1919 is approaching its end. It has been a year of all kinds of social and political ferment, and, in parts of the world, a year of misery, horror and chaos. No other country has so little excuse as the United States for a continuance of disorder and inefficiency. The one great example should be set by Congress. When Congress gives the appearance of "striking on the job" there is the more excuse for turbulent industrial elements. The first thing needed, in a program to settle matters here at home, is the full adoption of the Peace Treaty. Party maneuvering has gone far enough at Washington, and the country expects and demands treaty ratification with a compromise on the reservations. The party that arrogantly forces a continuation of the present deadlock, with a view to mixing the treaty up in the campaign of 1920, will go down to the defeat that it will thus have merited. There was nothing in the treaty to hurt America; but,

on the other hand, the treaty is not impaired by moderate reservations. The important thing is to ratify it; to declare peace; to do away with the war time legislation; and to start the year 1920 on the full peace basis.

*Next Things
on the
Program*

With the treaty settled, it will be comparatively easy to bring order into the industrial world, and it will be possible, let us hope, to do something with that most difficult of all our problems—the question of protecting the solvency of the nation's great transportation system. Let the unfinished business proceed rapidly this month. The approaching Christmas Day should be the best by far that the world has seen for many years. An overwhelming sentiment should demand that both White House and Senate accept the undoubted verdict of America's best opinion and ratify the treaty. This will help to give us a happy Christmas at home, and will contribute much towards the Christmas spirit of peace and good will throughout the earth. Since this question of peace is the overshadowing one, we are giving most of our editorial space this month to its discussion. At this point we may refer to the remarkable analysis of the European situation presented for our readers by Mr. Simonds in this issue of the REVIEW. Its logic is irresistible, and its regard for truth prevents indulgence in shallow optimism. It leads to the conclusion that we must coöperate with Europe, regardless of our natural preference for a policy of isolation.

*The Armistice
Fixed the
Basis*

As our readers are well aware, the Armistice itself was far more than a truce, or an indefinite suspension of hostilities. It was a very elaborate agreement upon the main terms of settlement with Germany; and if it had been only a little further worked out, it would have been entirely satisfactory as

constituting not merely an Armistice but a definite Peace Treaty. It has always been our view that the Armistice itself should have been regarded as the treaty which established peace relations. There would have remained an immense amount of work to be done by joint international committees in the detailed execution of the general agreement and understanding of the Armistice document. It will be remembered that the Armistice itself recognized and accepted as the basis of peace terms the fourteen points of President Wilson. They had previously been officially accepted by the Governments of Great Britain, France and the other Allied powers. These conditions of permanent peace, as formulated by President Wilson, accepted by the Allied powers, and definitely adopted by Germany, specified the kind of world order that must exist in the future. They were the foundation stones upon which was set up that fabric of actual peace that emerged before the world's anxious vision, out of the din and smoke of battle, when the guns ceased firing on the 11th of November, 1918, a little more than a year ago. The last of these fourteen points read as follows:

XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike.

*Difficulties
of the
Situation*

There is such a thing as honor and good faith in the world, and there is a public opinion that rises higher than the tide of merely local patriotism that rallies around the ambitions of a single nationality or race. It was no easy matter to work out the adjustments that were to be made after the war, in the face of so many conflicting interests. Let credit be given, therefore, to those who have held to the larger view. The smashing of the Romanoff Czardom had left a seething chaos all the way from the Baltic and the Black Sea, across Europe and Asia, to the Pacific Ocean. The downfall of the Hapsburg overlordship, and the self-assertion of numerous races and political entities formerly included within the bounds of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, had produced political and economic difficulties that for the time being made the new order of things seem far worse than the old. The Balkan questions, and those affecting Turkey in Europe and in Asia—which had disturbed the general peace of all Europe for a long

time, and especially for a century past—were all wide open again, with grave consequences sure to follow almost any of the solutions that were being most strenuously demanded. Certainly, the outlook for even a temporary period of peace—much less for that permanent condition of harmony that had been proclaimed as the ideal about to be realized—seemed altogether discouraging. The old imperialism, that had restricted the political liberty of individuals and of groups; had indeed been destroyed with the dissolution of the militaristic structures that ruled in the name of Hohenzollern or Romanoff or Hapsburg. But there had sprung up a new kind of nationalism in intense form that seemed, at least for the present, a more disturbing order of affairs in Europe than that which it had succeeded.

*The Break-Up
Was
Necessary*

That the new order of things was worse than the old, however, was not true. It merely seemed worse for the moment, because of the pains and discomforts of transition. It was only in a library, with professional experts sitting around a table supplied with maps, books and statistical data, that the new Europe could be happily reconstructed with justice for everybody in the political and also in the personal sense. When these solutions of age-long boundary questions and kindred problems were taken out of doors and exposed to the actual conditions, it was evident at once that the Armistice could not be applied without creating at least temporary convulsions. The remedies are necessary because the disease for which they were prescribed was fatal. The militaristic empires were a menace to mankind and had to be done away with. Something had to take their place, and this something under existing conditions could only be a series of national self-governing states like Bohemia (Czecho-Slovakia), Poland, Finland, and so on, or else a series of temporarily protected regions under international guarantee such as parts of the Turkish Empire and parts of the former German colonies.

*The "League"
Essential to
New Order*

The earlier attempts to bring the world into accord, as exhibited at the Hague peace conference for example, were not successful because the great empires and the smaller sovereign states could not be brought together upon any international basis of relative equality. In order to federate the world for peace-keeping, and for the normal prog-

ress of civilization, it was necessary to dissolve the great empires and to have a larger number of states of more equal power. Otherwise, it would have been necessary to create one dominant empire and entrust to it the keeping of the world's peace, as in the palmy days of the old Roman Empire before its decline and fall. But the world was not willing to come under the paramountcy of a German Empire; nor was it willing to look forward to what the Germans thought to be the other alternative, namely a future paramountcy of the Russian Empire. The great decision that was arrived at will be found embodied in President Wilson's fourteen points as accepted by the Allied governments when the United States entered the war, and as adopted solemnly and definitely by Germany, on behalf of herself and her partners when the Armistice was signed. This basis of peace and a new world order, laying aside mere details, was quite simple. And, indeed, it was essential and could not be repudiated either with honor or with safety.

What Was
This "New
Order?"

It contemplated free governments in Europe in place of military autocracies. It looked forward to disarmament, and to a substitution of reason and law for force and violence. If what is now our American na-

tional republic had been crystallized into three or four sectional federations, it is not likely that we could have held the country together in the larger national grouping. With forty-eight States, joined together to form the Union, there is no single one that can assert itself to the serious detriment of any of its neighbors. Each one of the forty-eight is dependent for its safety against foreign foes as well as for its security at home, upon the power of the Union as a whole. In like manner, there lay at the basis of the new European order of things the principle that there shall be a group of self-governing free nations, which will find it practically necessary to give up extreme militarism and to adopt some plan of a League of Nations which would avail to settle disputes and protect the rights of all nations. Thus it was not going to be left doubtful, under the new order, whether or not a Serbia or a Belgium should be permitted to be crushed by a more powerful neighbor for its own aggrandizement. It was perceived that almost any sort of an international League, if in existence in 1914, would have prevented the great war.

What
Everybody
Understood

It requires none of that supposed knowledge which enables public men to make long speeches to understand the essential principles that were to control the new order of affairs in the world. Reverting to the mood of one year ago, we all believed that those principles of liberty, justice and reasonableness had won a great triumph in the defeat of German autocracy and in the acceptance of the points upon which peace terms were to be worked out. All the leading Allied nations had agreed in advance that there was to be a League of Nations for the further perfecting of international law, and for the application of international law to the practical business of mutual protection. The Allied countries had not desired war and had made terrible sacrifices to establish peace. They purposed to associate themselves in a League, and to cooperate in a spirit of friendship and upon principles of law and justice, in order to give permanence to the peace which their united war-power had achieved. It was their further purpose to admit the enemy nations to membership in their peace league whenever it might seem safe and desirable that Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria should be members of the society formed to promote peace as the supreme policy of civilized nations.



THE CHILD WHO WANTED TO PLAY BY HIMSELF

PRESIDENT WILSON: "Now come along and enjoy yourself with the other children. I promised that you'd be the life and soul of the party."
From *Punch* (London)

Some
Delays to
be Regretted

As we have said, these were the accepted principles upon which the war was ended more than a year ago. Several of the detailed questions as respects boundaries and the like which have so painfully disturbed Europe during the year 1919 might with advantage have been firmly and definitely settled at the moment of the Armistice. At that time there was more of gratitude and generosity, and less of grasping selfishness in the hearts alike of leaders and of people. Never in all history had there been anything so altruistic and large-minded in public action as the war-effort of America on behalf of the liberties of Europe. The average American thought that our sacrifices must certainly be appreciated, and that Europeans, in common parlance, would be glad enough to "settle down and behave decently." Then was the time to have secured the acceptance of obviously fair settlements for several of the questions that are still open, and that the lapse of time makes harder rather than easier to adjust. But, however that may be, it should not for a moment be forgotten that the war was ended in a common agreement and a solemn pledge to do away with autocracies, to destroy militarism in the hands of particular governments as a controlling principle, and to substitute a mechanism of international organization through which future disputes could be settled without war.

Wilson and
American
Policy

Following the Armistice, in due time the Peace Conference was assembled at Paris and President Wilson went abroad with high hopes and great prestige. The United States had for many years been the foremost champion in the world of what may be termed the legal and political remedies for war. We had offered all sorts of arbitration treaties to all sorts of governments, and had "signed up" a great many such conventions. We had labored in both Hague Conferences for real advances in international law and in tribunals for peace. Though better placed than any other country for self-defense, and though stronger in resources and in capacity for the creation of military and naval strength than any other country, we had shown ourselves peace-loving and unaggressive, and had remained comparatively unarmed. We had far less reason to seek the establishment of a League of Nations for our own safety than had any other nation, great or small. President Wilson's

championship at Paris, therefore, of the idea of a League of Nations was as disinterested as it was sane and sensible. The old empires had maintained peace through considerable periods through their balanced alliances and through their natural dread of the risks and losses of war on a large scale. With the old empires broken down, and with a group of new countries emerging, it was absolutely necessary to have some kind of a League of Nations if there was to be any security for the future.

A Natural
American
Leadership

This was perfectly clear to all right-thinking minds, although it was emphasized more strongly in some countries than in others. Several countries, for example, were so intent upon making sure of their own particular gains in consequence of victory, that they were naturally less concerned at the moment about general organization for future peace. There was nobody so situated in the Conference at Paris that he could stand out quite as prominently as President Wilson on behalf of mature plans for keeping the world's peace in the years to come, and for giving some sense of security to smaller nations. Thus the leadership assumed by President Wilson for this general principle of world order would, in our opinion, have been taken in the very nature of the case by any other leading American; if, for instance, Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Taft, Mr. Root, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Secretary Lane, Chief Justice White, President Eliot, Ambassador Davis, Secretary Lodge, or even Senator Hiram Johnson had gone to Paris as head of the American Peace Delegation. There is no question but what the general point of view championed by President Wilson was truly representative of American public opinion. It was the point of view that had been expressed significantly by Americans for more than one hundred years.

In Line with
Our
Statesmen

It is what we may call the constructive view of orderly democratic progress within nations, and of orderly proceedings within the family of nations. Washington, Franklin, and John Jay were of this way of thinking. Jefferson in his old age advocated standing side by side with Great Britain in order that such an association might, at the time we were supporting Latin-American independence, bring England's "mighty weight into the scale of free government and emancipate

at one stroke a whole continent." Undoubtedly Jefferson was looking forward to a later period when the despotic empires of Continental Europe would succumb before the march of democracy, and when the spirit of order following that of human liberty should give the world a reign of law. Webster and Clay, and Calhoun himself, had such conceptions of progress; and for more than half a century past we have given constant evidence of our desire to promote such methods as are understood by the phrase "League of Nations." Senator Lodge himself, for forty years, has represented such ideas. Presidents Cleveland, McKinley and Roosevelt typified this general American sentiment in official acts as well as in words. President Taft and Mr. Knox as his Secretary of State devoted themselves to plans for realizing new steps of advancement in the cause of peace through institutions for improving international law and for applying it through courts of judicature. It seems needful to state again this consistent attitude of the United States towards world order, because the debate on the peace treaty in the Senate, and the failure of the treaty as the Senate adjourned on November 19, had created some confusion even in the public mind here at home, while evidently puzzling and baffling the anxious minds of millions of friends of freedom and peace across the seas.



THE OBSTRUCTION

THE SKIPPER: "Drat it! And just when it is of vital importance to reach port safely and quickly."
From the *Star* (Montreal, Canada)

A Question
on Every
Tongue

What has happened, then, to bring about so anomalous a situation as that which existed when last month the Treaty was rejected? How does it happen that America—the only consistent champion through long decades of the principles embodied in the Versailles Treaty—stands alone in opposing that instrument? Germany, even though excluded for the present from the League of Nations, signed the treaty, ratified it, and gave it effect insofar as possible, many months ago and has thus had the advantage of being at peace. One after another, the great group of Allies—Britain, France, Italy, Japan—have ratified the treaty which their representatives at Paris and Versailles had formulated. The smaller nations in general have accepted it by ratification, after having helped in their measure to frame the document. But the Senate of the United States has refused to ratify the document as the President brought it back from the Peace Conference, and a puzzling situation has resulted. The action of the Senate has been accompanied by such torrential floods of oratory, and by such complicated parliamentary tactics in dealing with the proposed amendments and reservations, that with the news, on December 20, of the adjournment of the Senate and the defeat of the treaty it was hard for the average citizen to answer the questions of his family at home as to what had happened and why. And if the average American of intelligence could not easily analyze and explain, how could it be expected that the average citizen in England or France or Germany could understand, either the method or the motive of the American attitude toward a treaty that America had been so conspicuous in negotiating?

As to
Congress
Sessions

Many citizens, indeed, have followed the course of affairs so closely that they need no further explanation. But doubtless there are readers, even at this stage, who might like to have the situation reviewed as of the ending of the Senate's session November 19, and the opening of the new session beginning Monday, December 1. It will be borne in mind that Congress always meets on the first Monday of December in regular session because so required by the Constitution. The present Congress has a Republican majority in both Houses, and was elected in November 1918. The preceding Congress, which was Democratic in both Houses, came to an

end on the 4th day of March of the present year. When the late Congress thus dissolved on that date, it had not completed the work of passing the appropriation bills necessary for carrying on the Government. President Wilson had come home in February on a brief trip and had returned to his work as head of the American Peace Delegation in France. He was obliged to call the new Republican Congress into session, in order to transact urgent financial business. In any case, it would have been necessary to call the Senate together, in order to submit to it the Peace Treaty, which was signed at Versailles on June 28 and which was sent to the Senate for ratification on July 10. But for these urgent matters, requiring the convening of a special session of the new Congress (the call being made by President Wilson in a cable communication), the present session beginning December 1 would have been the first official gathering of the Sixty-sixth Congress. It will be remembered that the appropriation bills were duly passed by Congress in the early summer, and that many other matters of legislation have been before the House of Representatives while the Senate was chiefly occupied, especially in the later weeks of the session, with the peace treaty.

*The
"Treaty-Making
Power"*

The Constitution of the United States lodges the treaty-making power in the hands of the President "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate." Just how the Senate's partnership in the treaty-making power was to be exercised in a practical way was not stated in the Constitution. Evidently the Senate's part was to be a vital one, although it has generally been regarded as rather negative than positive. When President Wilson went abroad himself to negotiate the treaty, he informed the Senators that he expected to keep them in touch at all times with the course of the proceedings. He found in actual experience that this could not be done. It is true he had been the champion of "open diplomacy"; but that phrase could never mean that negotiations at all stages were to be conducted in loud tones of voice, in the presence of large audiences, so that each remark of every member of a committee or a conference should be megaphoned to the world. Open diplomacy means that the results when attained should be perfectly open; that there should be no hidden agreements or understandings; and that there should be

a full and honest account given in due time of all business transacted and of the main courses of proceeding. We are not apologizing for the inconsistencies of the recent Conference.

*Comparatively
"Open"
Diplomacy*

As compared with all preceding world congresses and treaty negotiating bodies, the work of the negotiators at Paris and Versailles was openly conducted and was afterwards frankly explained. Agreements that had been made secretly among the Allies before the United States entered the war ought indeed to have been expressly abrogated. It was supposed in the United States that all such agreements had been superseded by the logic of facts, when Russia went out of the war and the United States came in. But more than one of the Allied powers insisted so strenuously at Paris upon keeping advantages guaranteed under earlier compacts that the final treaty was to some extent clouded in its provisions by the self-seeking spirit of these countries. The United States had made the mistake of assuming, when she went to the aid of Europe's liberties, that it was not necessary to obtain pledges in advance that Europe, when rescued, would behave handsomely. All such pledges could have been had for the mere asking, because Europe was in desperate plight and nothing but the rapidity and magnitude of American effort could have saved the Allied countries from overwhelming defeat. America had the best right in the world to insist in the Peace Conference that the nations whom she had helped to deliver should in good faith do their part to put down the spoils-grabbing spirit.

*How Wilson
Became
Unpopular*

President Wilson was received with plaudits in Europe because American intervention had ended the war and given the Allied powers more substantial results of victory than they had even hoped for. If his popularity waned, however, in one country and then in another, it was not because he was unfriendly or unjust to any nation, race or people; but because his position came to be somewhat like that of an umpire or a judge in a series of disputes, and he had the courage to try to perform this thankless role. It was impossible to give Czecho-Slovakia what seemed to be her rights on the Adriatic, without angering the hotbloods of Italy. It was impossible to have any part in the adjustment of problems along the Rhine, without mor-

tally offending the French and the Germans at the same time. No adjustment of boundaries for Roumania or for Poland or for Bulgaria could be made without giving bitter offense. It was impossible to arrange those parts of the treaty relating to the Pacific Ocean and the Far East without offending either China or Japan. President Wilson was undoubtedly so conscious of a broad and disinterested American rectitude in his endeavor to help find a good working solution of numerous problems, that he was content to leave both his motives and also his work itself to the verdict of history.

Grandeur
of the
Achievement

In the face of stupendous difficulties, a Conference in which he was the most prominent figure finally adopted a treaty. This finished work was more voluminous than any other compact that had ever before been negotiated in the world. A vast number of its chapters and clauses provided for just and sound settlements of particular and general problems. Even where selfish ambitions seemed hard to subdue, there was always the color of reasonableness in the solution that was obtained. If Italy's views about the Adriatic were tinged by too much of eagerness on behalf of Italian claims, they were not views urged in a spirit of dishonesty or of ruthlessness, but with sincerity and frankness. And so of many other complicated questions. When (1) the treaty was finally brought to completion; when (2) it was accepted and signed by Germany; when (3) it was given practical effect in many of its provisions, the world had good reason to be hopeful. With all its imperfections, this treaty marked an enormous advance. It was entitled to a fair trial. It found settlements for many broad questions, and it provided a way to deal with many others that required a longer period for adjustment. Compared with the methods and results of previous world congresses, this treaty of 1919 is an achievement of political progress and of moral grandeur.

Basis
of the
League

The Conference itself had assumed the character of an initial session of the great League of Nations. The immediate basis of this league was the good understanding and practical cooperation of France, Great Britain and the United States. It was plain that if these three countries, together with Italy and Japan, could act together in friendly accord, they could secure the peace of the world



RATIFY THE TREATY!

From the Evening World (New York) ©

while working out the plans for dealing with unfinished problems or with those that must arise in the future. It seemed to most enlightened minds that if America could afford to send vast armies to Europe, and could endure to sacrifice the lives of scores of thousands of our best sons, fighting for peace in the years 1917 and 1918, she could surely afford to promise her hearty good will and powerful influence for the keeping of future peace and the prevention of war. It is nothing at all but this guarantee of cooperation for peace-keeping that the Treaty of Versailles asks from the Government and the people of the United States. We had been foremost in demanding that the European countries pledge themselves to such an arrangement.

Suggestions
Accepted
Last Spring

When President Wilson had made his hasty visit to the United States in February, the plan for the League of Nations had already been tentatively agreed upon in Paris. Suggestions were made at that time by Mr. Taft, Mr. Root, Mr. Hughes and others for some slight modifications in order to adapt the plan to our American situation. It was felt that until the League had become a developed institution we should continue to think of Western Hemisphere matters in terms of the Monroe Doctrine. It was thought that there should be a provision by which a nation might honorably withdraw from the League. It was further considered that it would be well to make specific some

of the distinctions concerning matters of strictly domestic policy like immigration, which we should not turn over to an international agency. President Wilson went back to Paris and succeeded in having the Peace Conference accept various modifications of the League of Nations covenant that, in his judgment, met the suggestions of Mr. Root, Mr. Taft and Mr. Hughes.

How
McKinley
Made Peace

When President McKinley sent American Commissioners to negotiate peace with Spain in 1898, he pursued a course quite different from that which was taken by President Wilson late in 1918. Perhaps the best way to make the difference clear is to state exactly what President McKinley did; and for our present purposes of comparison, no statement could be better than the one made a little more than twenty years ago by the present writer in the opening editorial paragraph of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for October, 1898. That paragraph reads as follows:

Peace-Making
at
Paris

The American peace commissioners sailed from New York on board the *Campania* on Saturday, September 17, in order to meet the Spanish commissioners at Paris on or before the date specified in the protocol, which was October 1. As finally constituted, the group of five American commissioners consisted of Judge Day, who resigned his office as Secretary of State on the day before he sailed; Senator Davis, of Minnesota, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee; Senator Frye, of Maine, whose name stands second on that committee and who is also chairman of the Commerce Committee; Senator Gray, of Delaware, a prominent member of the Foreign Relations Committee, and the only Democrat on the board; and Mr. Whitelaw Reid, editor of the *New York Tribune*, formerly minister to France by President Harrison's appointment, and more recently a special representative of the United States at the celebration of the Queen's diamond jubilee. The work of these commissioners is in no sense akin to that of a board of arbitration, but is strictly diplomatic in its nature. The board will act under instructions from the administration at Washington, exercising only so much of discretion as the administration may have chosen to accord to it. Before sailing the commissioners were in close and protracted conference with Mr. McKinley, while Cabinet members were recalled from their vacations in order that the President's constitutional advisers might be consulted on every point while the peace commissioners were still in Washington. The First Assistant Secretary of State, Professor Moore, accompanied the commission in the capacity of secretary. Mr. Moore's functions will be those of a secretary in the most important sense of the word; and by reason of his expert attainments in international law he will act as legal adviser of the commissioners. The board as constituted is entitled to the confidence of the country.

Senators Davis and Gray are lawyers of eminence, ability, and remarkable attainments. Temperamentally they balance each other exceedingly well. Mr. Davis is what a few dozen persons in Boston and New York would stigmatize as an "imperialist" and a "jingo." Mr. Gray, thus far, has not been similarly labeled. It merely happens that Mr. Davis, as a Western man, knows the whole country better and reaches conclusions with more swiftness and certainty. Judge Day has had less public experience, but he has no lack of confidence in his country, and his mind works along logical lines in a clear and direct fashion. Mr. Whitelaw Reid has the adaptability and quick mind of a long journalistic career. The commissioners will, therefore, most certainly work together in harmony, and they may be expected to show good judgment at all points. It is understood that they will not be disposed to tolerate any needless quibbling or delay. The commissioners hope to finish their work within six weeks.

President and
Senate in
1898

The peace negotiations at Paris twenty years ago had important results. We acquired Porto Rico, took over the sovereignty of the Philippines, made important arrangements regarding Spanish interests in Cuba and elsewhere, and assumed a place in the world that was challenged by the Democratic Party as a policy of "imperialism" and that formed the issue in Mr. Bryan's losing campaign against the McKinley-Roosevelt Presidential ticket of the year 1900. But our principal reason for quoting this paragraph about the commissioners who went to Paris in 1898 is to show how Mr. McKinley looked upon the relations of the United States Senate to the business of having an important treaty not only negotiated but also ratified and accepted. Of his five commissioners, three were the most influential members of the Senate's Committee on Foreign Relations. The Republicans being in large majority, naturally two of these Senators were Republican and one was a Democrat. Senator Gray was the ranking Democratic member of the Foreign Relations Committee, of which he would have been Chairman if the Democrats had been in majority. Judge Day resigned as Secretary of State to become a member of this commission and was promptly succeeded in the Cabinet by John Hay, who had been for some time our Ambassador at London. Mr. Whitelaw Reid, although a Republican, had the confidence of all the leading journalists of the country because of his eminent career in that profession; and his experience in politics and diplomacy had been life long. Professor John Bassett Moore was a Democrat, but he had the confidence of all lawyers and public men

as a distinguished authority on international law. President McKinley, in close accord with his Cabinet and with Senate leaders, kept in daily touch with the Conference in Paris by liberal use of the cable.

*If Wilson
had not
Gone to Paris*

If President Wilson had followed Mr. McKinley's method, he would have appointed Mr. Lansing and Col. House as members of the Commission, with Professor John Bassett Moore, who is still young and vigorous and more than ever eminent as an authority, to the position of Chief Secretary and legal expert. He would then have chosen three members of the Senate, for example, Mr. Hitchcock, Mr. Lodge and Mr. Knox. Or else, in lieu of one of the Republican Senators, he would have appointed Mr. Root or Mr. Taft. It was not necessary, of course, for Mr. Wilson to follow the McKinley precedent in that particular way. He preferred to negotiate at close range; and the conditions were unprecedented. It is permissible, however, to express the opinion that the more usual methods would have obtained better results than those that Mr. Wilson chose to pursue. He could probably have gained essential points better if he had directed the Commissioners from the White House by cable. Mr. Wilson's personal triumph had already been gained when the Armistice was negotiated successfully upon the basis of his fourteen points. As regards everything that follows, it would seem to us that he could have done his work more powerfully and efficiently if he had remained at the helm of affairs in Washington. He could have viewed the work of the Conference in better perspective from Washington than when in the thick of things at Paris.

*Some
Consequences
of His Method*

He could have directed the American Commissioners by using the cable as McKinley did and could have avoided the peril of securing at one time undue approbation and influence, while at another time arousing undue antagonism. Of necessity, his going to the Peace Conference in person reduced the other members of the American delegation to an inferior rank, while at the same time compelling the three other principal Governments to carry on their negotiations personally through their Prime Ministers, thus giving us a Conference dominated by the so-called "Big Four." Undoubtedly Mr. Wilson believed that was the only way to secure results; but one may be justified in the opinion

that he was mistaken and that the domination of the Conference by Wilson, Lloyd George and Clemenceau, with the occasional help of the Italian Premier, was not the best way either to secure immediate settlements nor yet the best way to usher in the periodical meetings of the future League of Nations. But even if the President's long sojourn in Europe, and his dominant place in the Conference had made for efficiency up to a certain point, it involved the great risk of detaching Mr. Wilson from the country that he represented.

*Some
Contrasts*

Clemenceau was at home; and he was in constant touch with the Senate and Chamber of Deputies. He took no steps in the Conference without seeing that his position was solid and secure in the support of the Ministry and of the Chambers. Mr. Lloyd George, in the very nature of the case, had to maintain his Parliamentary support all the time as he went along. Otherwise he would have lost his job as Prime Minister, and at the same time would have dropped out as head of the British Delegation in the Peace Conference. The same thing was true of the Italian Premier,—as the facts proved before the end came. Mr. Wilson, however, was in every sense a self-sufficient representative,



THE KNIGHT ERRANT

PRESIDENT WILSON (to League of Nations): "Hold tight, ma'am; he'll quiet down directly."
From *Punch* (London)

[The moral of the above cartoon is that the knight errant who attempts to rescue the lady in distress should be on good terms with his horse.]



THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER, MR. LLOYD GEORGE, CARRIED IN TRIUMPH BY STUDENTS AT SHEFFIELD UNIVERSITY

(Mr. Lloyd George, having held the support of Parliament through the trying year of peace-making, has secured ratification of the Treaty, and of the special defensive alliance with France, has settled the railroad strike, and is at the height of his popularity at home.)

and his position was secure until March 4, 1921. His power under the Constitution to negotiate the treaty was not in question. Mr. McKinley as truly negotiated the treaty of twenty years ago; but he preferred the more usual way of negotiating it through commissioners who worked harmoniously under his preliminary instructions and under his guidance at all critical points by virtue of ocean telegraphy. Mr. Lloyd George was surrounded at Paris by men of great and commanding influence in the British Parliament. He was the head of a Coalition Government, and there could be little doubt about British acceptance of the treaty. The only adverse possibility was a political revolution, with the election of a new Parliament that would have repudiated the leaders of the war period before a treaty could have been ratified.

American Opinion One Year Ago There did not seem to be any marked differences of opinion among the leaders of American thought and policy at the time of the Armistice. It was agreed in America that there should be support of new sovereignties like Poland, Bohemia [Czecho-Slovakia] and Finland; that a true German Republic should be encouraged; that Belgium and France should secure both present reparation and future security; that the United States, Great Britain and France should work in harmony; that Italy should secure true boundaries and obtain proper advantages from the victory over Austria; that deliberate plans should be made for disarmament; that

the responsible nations should exercise trusteeship over backward regions; that oppressed peoples like the Armenians should have safety and freedom henceforth; and that above all, there should be—to use the name of an influential American society—a “League of Nations to Enforce Peace.” President Wilson had put the stamp of his personal and official endorsement upon these ideas during the war period. He could have secured their acceptance by sending to Paris a delegation so composed as to carry with it the probability of full support in the Senate.

Senators Were Needed in Paris In attendance upon the Paris Conference from time to time were many members of the British Parliament who were connected with one or another of the numerous commissions. President Wilson had in Paris some hundreds of Americans working as financial, economic, legal or political experts upon various special or subordinate committees. It would have been wholly possible, during the long period of the Conference, to have had every member of the United States Senate attached to one or another of these committees, and present for at least a part of the time in Paris and elsewhere in Europe. Naval vessels and army transports were making constant and rapid trips, and the movement of Senators to and from French ports would have been perfectly feasible. The framing of the treaty, including the covenant of the League of Nations was, so to speak, a program for the shaping of a

new world. This program had to be accepted by the United States Senate, upon careful study; and it would have been worth while to have given every Senator some part in the preliminary work of building up this new charter for the conduct of world affairs.

*Finding
the Point
of View*

In any case, Mr. Wilson was in charge of the negotiations. It was simply a matter of judgment whether he should remain in Washington and send members of the Senate abroad, or whether he should go abroad and leave the Senate at home. Mr. Wilson did not especially need any contact with European statesmen, because his own point of view was maturely and correctly established; and in any case his was the authority on behalf of America for initiating the treaty. General Pershing, Admiral Sims, and many other high officers had obtained their political as well as their military point of view. They knew perfectly well that in the nature of things we should have to stand shoulder to shoulder with the British and the French in years to come. But it was desirable for America that our political leaders—men of power and of talent, not only like Senators Knox and Lodge, but also like Senators Johnson, Borah and Reed—should be sent abroad and brought into close touch with the leaders of Europe, in the period of adjustment from the Armistice to the perfecting of the treaty.

*The Senate's
Belated
Attitude*

Frankly, it is not our opinion that these men, if they had been long enough in touch with the British, French and Italian people and spokesmen, would have helped in shaping a treaty materially different from the one that Mr. Wilson brought home. But, let us say with equal frankness, it is our opinion that their attitude toward the treaty would have been widely different. They have not been acting without a keen sense of responsibility; but they would have taken a different view of their responsibilities if they had been helping to negotiate the treaty. In further paragraphs we discuss the merits of the points raised by the Republicans, under the leadership of Senator Lodge, which led to the rejection of the treaty on November 19. But, conceding merit for the moment, it was most unfortunate that this convinced majority of the Senate could not have discovered its own attitude at a much earlier date. What a pity that it could not have had a chance to express itself at Paris, while the treaty was still in the plastic stages of construction!



© International
M. CLEMENCEAU, WHO HAS NOW WON HIS
GREATEST POLITICAL TRIUMPH

(On Sunday, November 16, elections were held throughout France for a new Chamber of Deputies, this being the first general election since the spring of 1914. There had been some fear of a Socialist reaction against the Clemenceau ministry, but the veteran Premier won a tremendous victory. It is agreed that he is to be elevated to the presidency of the Republic to succeed M. Poincaré.)

*What
Are the
Reservations?*

We have been anxious to find it possible to give in sincerity the opinion that the amendments advised by the Republican Foreign Relations Committee—and afterwards changed from textual amendments to the form of ratifying "reservations"—were of sufficient merit to have justified the course that the Senate has pursued. President Wilson would not allow the treaty to be ratified at all unless the Senate's resolution of ratification were to be modified. The President, on November 18, had sent a letter to Senator Hitchcock as leader of the Democratic group supporting the treaty saying that the Republican reservations amounted to a "nullification" of the treaty itself. It is hard to see how this could

be true. The treaty is a document of stupendous proportions, making settlements with Germany which the Germans have already accepted and which America does not call into question. The treaty also adjusts many other important matters in a way accepted by the United States Senate without question. The plan for a League of Nations, to carry on the work of the Peace Conference in the future, forms a separate part of the treaty. Almost every one of the "reservations" supported by the entire Republican majority under Senator Lodge's leadership relate to the future functioning of this League of Nations. Not one of the reservations disturbs either the basis of the settlement with Germany or any of the important details.

The only reservation seriously affecting the settlements of concrete questions in the body of the treaty had to do with Shantung and read as follows, as finally adopted by the Republican majority, with several Democratic votes:

The United States withholds its assent to Articles 156, 157 and 158, and reserves full liberty of action with respect to any controversy which may arise under said articles between the Republic of China and the Empire of Japan.

China had declared war against Germany following the advice and policy of the United States. Germany's hold upon Shantung had been due to China's weakness; and the expulsion of Germany from China did not, in the American view, give Japan any continuing rights in China except as accorded willingly by the Chinese Government. President Wilson had accepted the explanations of Japan, and it had been earnestly hoped that the Japanese Government would without delay take such steps as would satisfy everybody that this Senate reservation was needless. Of the entire list of reservations, this, in our opinion, is the only one that has any serious character as affecting the treaty. It does not antagonize Japan's position, but merely declines to commit the United States to a definite stand for Japan, against the protests of China. Japan should make this clause needless.

President Wilson's chief objection to the reservations, as the country was informed, had to do with Article X of the Covenant of the League of Nations. This is the article in accordance with which the members of the League agree to protect one another's inde-

pendence and territorial sovereignty. The Senate's reservation merely declares that the United States in any given case arising under Article X would of necessity take action through Congress, under our Constitution, and not in some other way. President Wilson holds that this reservation destroys the League. In our opinion, the reservation is unnecessary because it is so obvious that Article X is not self-executing, and that in a given instance nations could not send aid to a threatened member of the League without the exercise of proper authority. If Belgium were to be once more invaded by Germany, Article X of the League Covenant could not possibly bring England into action to protect Belgium unless Parliament at that moment sanctioned and authorized the employment of British forces. This is perfectly evident upon a moment's reflection. The British Ministry is merely a committee of Parliament, and cannot act in any important sense except with the confidence and approval of the Parliamentary body. The same thing is true of the French Government and of the Italian. Everything contained in the Lodge reservation merely puts the United States in the position that Britain and France and Italy are already in, by reason of their form of government. Thus, as regards Article X, we do not accept the President's view of the reservation, though we do not think that amendment was needed.



STILL TRYING IT ON
From the Post (Cincinnati)



FIRST KILL THE PATIENT
From the Herald (New York)



A RECKLESS PERFORMANCE
From the World (New York)

(Of the two cartoons above, one is a Republican view of the attitude of Senator Hitchcock and the Wilson Democrats, while the other is a Democratic characterization of Senator Lodge and his Republican supporters.)

America
Can Be
Trusted

Our own form of government requires an act of Congress before we make war. Unless the League of Nations is to be regarded as a superstate, indissoluble, and with a higher form of sovereignty, it must rely, not upon binding forms of words in the Covenant, but upon the continuing support of public sentiment in the leading nations. League or no League, the United States will not twenty years hence send its armed forces across the ocean to protect one country or another from invasion, unless at that time the Government of the country takes the necessary steps to equip and dispatch an expedition. And it is obvious that these steps cannot be taken without concurrence between the President and the two Houses of Congress. This is all that is contained in the reservation relating to Article X. This part of the League of Nations merely expresses a general attitude. The Senate's reservation does not alter that attitude. The purpose of the League of Nations is to prevent needless wars. The attitude of the United States towards needless wars is by far more definite and more satisfactory than that of any other country. The adherence of the United States to Article X even as modified by the Senate reservation is decidedly more valuable for the purposes of the League than the adherence of any one of the other countries which have already ratified the treaty and accepted the League without

any expressed dissent. A compromise on this Article X ought to be arranged at once. It seems that Senator Hitchcock, as leader of the Democratic minority, had a substitute for this particular reservation that did not materially differ from the one adopted.

Three Harmless
"Lodge"
Clauses

The reservation regarding the Monroe Doctrine merely expounds and explains what is already contained in the treaty itself, and is a perfectly harmless interpretation. The clause relating to possible withdrawal of the United States from the League contains nothing that has not been already accepted at home and abroad by unanimous consent, and also by explicit statements from the highest authorities. The clause relating to "mandates" simply says that the United States will assume no mandate "except by action of the Congress of the United States." This again is wholly obvious, for there would be no way to give any possible effect to a mandate without legislation. Mandates to administer parts of Asia or Africa or the Islands of the Sea cannot be thrust upon a nation unwilling to undertake the duties of such trusteeship. Obviously, Congress would have to act in the premises. Clause 5 of the ratifying Lodge resolution as amended and adopted, mentions a number of subjects such as immigration, labor, coastwise traffic, the tariff, commerce and so on, as among those matters

of "domestic jurisdiction that the United States completely reserves. This, however, merely expands somewhat the language of the treaty itself and is certainly harmless though seemingly unnecessary.

Why Oppose "Clause Eight?" Clause 8 has to do with representation in the Assembly and Council of the League of Nations. It provides that the American representation shall be in accord with provisions to be enacted by Congress, and it declares that until Congress has legislated there should be no American representation in the Assembly or Council of the League, or upon the committees working under the League's direction. This is not in any manner an attack upon the League. On the contrary, it strengthens the League, because it does not leave representation to the whims or preferences of a President, but makes it a matter of statutory provision, as in the case of all other parts of our official system. If this reservation were adopted, we should still have ratified the whole plan of the League of Nations, including the Assembly and the Council, but should merely have informed the other Governments adopting the treaty regarding our method of arranging for representation. Even without this reservation, it is hard to conjecture any other plan than that which is proposed; namely, that Congress should perform its obvious duty and make prompt and due provision for the selection of American representatives. British representatives would be designated by a Ministry which is in itself part of Parliament.

Certain Other Clauses Several reservations, as comprised in clauses 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14 provide either that Congress must act in certain matters in order to give effect to American participation, or else are intended in a somewhat technical way to safeguard the rights of American citizens under certain contingencies. These reservations do not in our opinion detract from the substantial value of the treaty; and if in the opinion of a majority of the Senate they are needed to avoid future misunderstandings, it is not easy for us to find an argument to justify the unwillingness of the minority to acquiesce in the preference of a very decided Senate majority.

Drop the "Fifteenth"! The fifteenth clause of the Lodge resolution relates importantly to the constitution of the League of Nations, but is not so vital as it might seem. This clause declares that the United States

"assumes no obligation to be bound" by any action of the League's Council or Assembly in which more than one vote is cast by a member together with its dependencies. It is further declared that the United States "assumes no obligation to be bound," in the case of any dispute between the United States and any member of the League, if any vote affecting that dispute has been cast by any representative in the League politically connected with the party to the dispute. There was no reason why this clause should have been so round-about in its phrasing. Our readers will remember that the plan of the League provides that Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and India shall be represented in the Assembly of the League. In most domestic matters these entities act as self-governing countries; but for purposes of external policy they are embraced in the British Empire, and their diplomacy is swayed by the British Cabinet and Foreign Office. Their defenses are unified in the British navy and army. The majority of the Senate are of opinion that, until a country like Canada sends an Ambassador to Washington and is diplomatically independent and self-determining in external affairs, there should not be six British votes in the Assembly of the League of Nations as against only one American vote.



"ALL DRESSED UP AND NO PLACE TO GO"

From the Telegram (New York)

[The above cartoon indicates the mistaken though widely understood nature of British representation in the League Assembly]

**The
Six British
Votes**

Why, ask some of the Senators, should not each one of our forty-eight sister States have a representative in the League? Everything depends upon the point of view. The idea of representation for Canada, South Africa and Australia was not to give the British Foreign Office more power, but rather to give it less. The Dominions had taken a great part in the war, and they felt themselves as much entitled to a place in the League of Nations as any of the numerous small countries. It is quite true that Canada ought to have an Ambassador at Washington, and ought to deal directly in all North-American affairs with the Government of the United States. But this is merely a matter of convenience, and it is not essential. The presence of representatives in the League Assembly from these self-governing English-speaking lands is, in our opinion, decidedly to the advantage of the United States. It is obvious that in case of a boundary question between Canada and the United States it would not be fitting that a half dozen British-Empire votes in the Assembly of the League should be employed against the single vote of the United States. Such a thing could not happen; and it seems absurd to make a reservation to guard against our own more especial friends, in adopting the treaty.

**British-
American
Confidence**

The League of Nations can have little success if underlying it there is not a strong and abiding confidence among the English-speaking peoples as respects their good faith and goodwill toward one another. An exchange of friendly notes between London and Washington as regards the nature of British Empire representation would have obviated the need of this fifteenth clause in the ratifying resolution. We are firmly of the opinion that it is proper for Canada and these other entities to be represented; but this of course is upon the understanding that Canada shall be present to represent Canadian and North American interests, and not as a dummy vote controlled by the Foreign Office at London. The English-speaking peoples do not intend to have any questions among themselves that would ever have to go to the League of Nations for adjustment. They have been able for more than one hundred years to settle all questions by dealing directly with one another. We hope, therefore, that the Washington and London Governments will confer directly about this fifteenth clause and



"GOOD BYE, PRINCE CHAP. I HOPE WE SHALL ALWAYS BE GOOD FRIENDS"

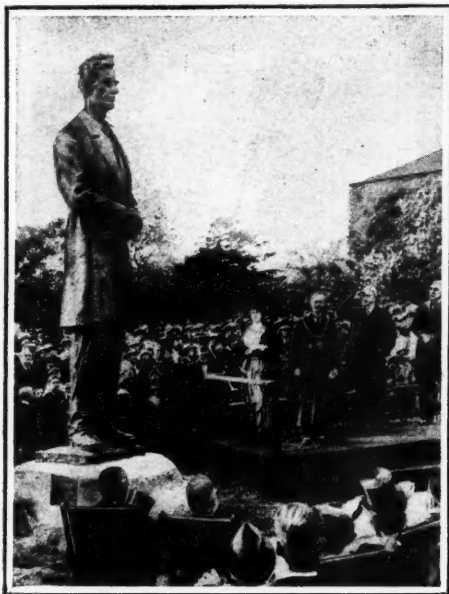
From the *Leader* (Pittsburgh, Pa.)

[The expressions of good will for the Prince of Wales as he left the United States on his return voyage were exceedingly friendly and were intended also for the British peoples]

that it will be omitted from the Lodge resolution. Australia and South Africa, as well as Canada, are federal democracies whose presence in the League is to be desired.

**No Lack
of American
Good-Will**

On the very days when these reservations were being adopted and the treaty was undergoing defeat for the present, the country was entertaining the Prince of Wales with as enthusiastic an exercise of hospitality and goodwill as could be imagined. The expressions of cordiality were not only personal but were also intended for the whole British people. There is nothing at all in the Senate action which implies any lack of intention to co-operate heartily with Great Britain in all honest efforts to maintain the cause of liberty and justice in the world. Practically all of the reservations would have been implied even if not expressed. It is wholly improbable that any of them would ever be found obstructive to the actual operation of the treaty if President Wilson had chosen to accept them. The substitutes suggested on behalf of the President and his party would seem to have traversed much of the same ground. The two reservations that seem



(C) Underwood & Underwood

THE BARNARD STATUE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, AT MANCHESTER, ENGLAND

(In September there was unveiled at Manchester, England, a statue of Lincoln by the famous American sculptor, George Gray Barnard. This was a gift by Mr. and Mrs. Charles P. Taft, of Cincinnati, through the agency of the American society known as the Sulgrave Institution. The address was by Judge Alton B. Parker, of New York, on behalf of the donors. Judge Parker stands on the platform at the extreme right. In the center is the American Ambassador, Mr. John W. Davis, and next to him the Lord Mayor of Manchester. The placing of this notable statue at the greatest center of British industry is another expression of good will between America and England.)

unfortunate and ungracious are the one relating to Japan and China, and the one relating to British representation. In our opinion it would be better to trust the honor and good faith of Japan, and to raise no point in the treaty. As regards the matter affecting the British Empire, that also should be "settled out of court."

"Acceptance"
Not
Desirable

In the preamble of the Lodge resolution it is provided that the treaty is not to take effect until the American reservations are accepted in diplomatic notes from the Governments of three of the four leading Allies; namely, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan. This requirement is unnecessary and ill-considered. If the Senate should ratify the treaty by the requisite two-thirds majority, and the President should accept the points made in the ratifying resolution, that would be quite sufficient. President Wilson would forthwith proclaim peace with Germany as

fully established. The League of Nations, so far as the United States is concerned, would go into effect just as soon as Congress could adopt the legislation providing for American representation; and it would be the duty of Congress to act very promptly. The reservations—relating as they do merely to America's own modes of action—would not call either for acceptance or rejection by any other country.

Most Senators Favor the Treaty

The votes of a small group of Senators were governed by the fact that they were opposed to the treaty altogether. Senator Knox had never favored the inclusion of the plan for a League of Nations in the treaty making peace with Germany. Several other Senators for reasons of their own were totally opposed to the League of Nations. But the overwhelming majority of the Senate, including all of the Republicans except a mere handful, and all of the Democrats excepting perhaps two or three, were supporters of the treaty including the League of Nations, either with or without the provisions covered in the final Lodge resolution. The supporters of Senator Lodge's resolution, when it came to a final vote, included every Republican except Senator McCumber, and also included a number of Democrats. But it requires a two-thirds vote to ratify; and the Senate has 96 members. Thirty-three votes can prevent ratification and at most the Lodge forces had fifty-five votes; while Senator Hitchcock, representing the President's views, had thirty-nine. On the day after adjournment, it became quite generally apparent that the situation was not hopeless, and that the treaty might yet be saved if moderate and sensible advice should be taken



"WHY, YOU'LL HARDLY KNOW THE CHILD!"

From the *Oregonian* (Portland, Ore.)

on both sides. It was the opinion of so extreme an opponent of the treaty as Senator Borah that in the near future there would be a compromise agreement upon reservations and that the treaty would be adopted. The maneuvers of different groups in the Senate were hard to follow. For example, a considerable Republican element had helped to fasten upon the treaty the reservations which were embodied in the Lodge resolution, and then on the final vote they were against the treaty as thus modified. A great majority, however, of the Republicans are genuinely for the treaty with the interpretations contained in the ratifying resolution; and it is likely that most of the Democratic Senators would rather have the treaty with these reservations than to kill it altogether. It is to be hoped that the party spirit may be laid aside, and that the treaty may now be dealt with upon its merits and with the genuine desire to complete it and put it into effect at once.

**Deadlock
Not
Justified**

These comments are in advance of the message which President Wilson will have sent to Congress at the beginning of the new session. As we have stated more than once, it is our view that the treaty might safely enough have been ratified as it stood. On the other hand, we do not believe that its value is impaired to any extent by anything contained in the Lodge resolution, although we do not think it quite courteous to refer to Shantung or to British membership in the Assembly. I ratified at once, even with the reservations the treaty could be made effective and the League would take up its work. No mere phrases of the treaty can either make or break the League. It must stand or fall upon the test of its own efficiency. If it is not supported in the years to come by a sustained public opinion in America and other leading countries, it will fail, quite regardless of the phraseology of the Covenant. That the treaty will be ratified, and that the League will enter upon a useful career is our confident belief. Eighty members of the Senate out of a total of ninety-six have supported the treaty, being divided merely upon the matter of reservations. Some objectionable amendments were proposed but were voted down. There has been too much of the appearance of party politics on both sides. These eighty Senators were in practical agreement upon everything in the treaty that was really essential.

**The
President
Should Concede**

In a country accustomed to rule by majorities, it would seem plain enough that the Democratic minority, having made their preference clear, should bow to the will of the Republican majority and ratify the treaty. If the Democrats should take this course, it is to be hoped that the Republicans would modify the resolutions at some points, in that spirit of reasonable compromise that makes government possible in English-speaking lands. We have given great space to matters affecting the treaty because this is the supreme question of the year, and it is at a culminating point in the opening days of December. President Wilson should save his truly great work, by recognizing the right of the Senate to select some points for more explicit American treatment. The value of the League lies in its moral power and in the voluntary support of public opinion. Nothing in the Senate's reservations would weaken its moral power; while in some ways there would be assurance of a stronger voluntary adherence. There is no sacrifice of the substance.

**Strike
Movements and
The Public**

Last month we gave unusual attention to the series of strike movements that were threatening to paralyze the prosperity of America. Some of these movements were for the immediate benefit of the strikers, while others were to enhance the controlling power of labor unions as such. The movement to unionize public servants like policemen and firemen has undoubtedly met with a severe check. The reelection of Governor Coolidge of Massachusetts by an overwhelming majority expressed more than a merely local Massachusetts sentiment. It was regarded as a national event. The decision of Judge Anderson at Indianapolis in the matter of the coal strike led to the recalling of the strike order by Mr. Lewis and the other leaders of the United Mine Workers of America. Steps were taken at Washington to bring together the leaders of labor and capital in the coal industry, in order to compromise differences and speed up production. The miners in most districts ignored the recall of the strike order, and declined to return.

**Coal Miners
Refuse
to Work**

Governor Henry J. Allen of Kansas, declaring the paramountcy of the public interest, ordered the coal mines under State control in order to save the people from suffering.



© Harris & Ewing: Washington.

DR. HARRY A. GARFIELD (left), FEDERAL FUEL ADMINISTRATOR, AND WALKER T. HINES, DIRECTOR GENERAL OF RAILROADS

(Dr. Garfield and Mr. Hines were in the center of the effort at Washington throughout November to settle the coal strike.)

A similar course of action was proposed or actually undertaken in several other states. Most Governors, however, declined to assume such extra legal authority. On some railroads the number of trains was curtailed and in certain communities the shortage of coal began to be severely felt. It was evident, however, that if matters came to the worst, the coal mines would be operated by volunteers, under military protection, and that intimidation on the part of the strikers would be met with relentless severity. And this leads us to the remark that nothing would be so valuable to organized labor itself as to be brought face to face with the determination on the part of the public to suppress all practices of intimidation and violence. The reputable unions can afford to leave all questionable methods to the I. W. W.'s, to the Bolsheviks and to the "Reds." It is merely human nature for the strikers, in their efforts to win, to be something less than polite. College students show the same tendencies, and so do other social groups. Some employers in earlier days set a bad example by the man-

ner in which they used armed strikebreakers to intimidate strikers. But ordinary rights must be protected; and it is as much the right of a worker to act individually as it is for him to act as a member of a union. It will be a bad day for workers when all "bargaining" is of the "collective" kind.

The Second Industrial Conference

President Wilson has not given up the hope that something may be accomplished by an industrial conference at Washington, and so he has named the members of a second one. It is upon a different plan from the first, and does not include men selected to champion industrial classes. All the members are supposed to represent the common good; and this is as it should be. The President invited seventeen men to be members of the new conference to assemble on December 1, and no member of the former conference was included. The list is as follows:

Secretary of Labor Wilson, former United States Attorneys-General Thomas W. Gregory and George W. Wickersham, former Food Administrator Herbert Hoover, former Secretary of Commerce Oscar S. Straus, Henry M. Robinson, Pasadena, Cal.; Professor Frank W. Taussig, former chairman of the Tariff Commission; former Governors Samuel W. McCall of Massachusetts, Martin H. Glynn of New York, and Henry C. Stuart of Virginia; Dr. W. O. Thompson, Ohio State University; Richard Hooker, Springfield, Mass.; George T. Slade, St. Paul; Julius Rosenwald, Chicago; Owen D. Young, New York City; H. J. Waters, President of the Kansas Agricultural College, Manhattan, Kan.; and Stanley King, of Boston.

In summoning these men, the President expressed the wish that the conference might



HE CANNOT TEAR IT DOWN

From the Dispatch (Columbus, Ohio)

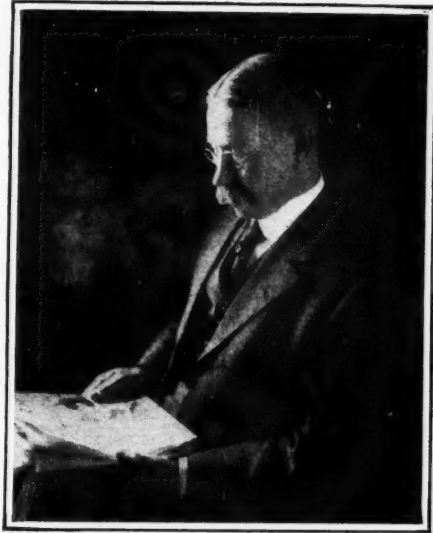
lay the foundation for better industrial relationships. There is much hope that this second gathering may be of use; and it will at least avoid the rocks upon which its predecessor was so promptly shattered.

**The Class
Spirit Not
American**

The attempt to make hard and fast lines between employers and wage earners as distinct and opposing classes is not in accordance with the history of American economic life, nor is it in keeping with present tendencies. Most employers have had the experience themselves of being employed. Many men are alternately wage earners and employers. Many others are both at the same time. Thousands of young men are employed to their own advantage for a certain period, while looking forward to working for themselves, or else to managerial functions in business in which they will employ others. Freedom of opportunity, and the moral and mental training that enables men to see and to grasp opportunity, are things chiefly to be desired. Labor unions have doubtless done much to improve average conditions by utilizing mass strength for the benefit of the individual. Union leaders should remember, however, that the improved status of labor has also been promoted by all men and women who are really intelligent and patriotic. This instructed intelligence is what is giving us good legislation and secure standards as regards conditions of labor, of health, of education and so on.

**Good Housing
and
Public Policy**

Nothing could be more typical of this permeating spirit than the great movements to be noted at present in England and in the United States for securing better standards of housing and of community life for industrial workers. In the war period it became practically necessary for our Government to take up the subject of housing because of the rapid concentration of workers at new shipbuilding plants, and near munition factories. While providing shelter for the workers, it was also possible to set standards that should influence private efforts. At the recent annual meeting of the American Civic Association in Philadelphia especial attention was paid to this question of providing good housing and environment for workers. Reports were made upon the work of the Government, and particular enterprises in the Philadelphia region were inspected. Mr. J. Horace McFarland of Harrisburg, who is President of the Civic Association, has writ-



MR. J. HORACE MCFARLAND

(An American leader in movements for civic progress and municipal reform.)

ten for this number of the REVIEW a statement regarding the Government housing projects and policies. The most important single instance is the model new village, created by the housing and shipbuilding boards, and known as "Yorkship" near Camden, in the Philadelphia district. We are glad to have been able to secure a statement about this community from its planner and chief architect, Mr. Electus D. Litchfield. Miss Harlean James writes also concerning that very admirable provision at Washington for the housing of women workers, known as the "Government hotel for women." While it is not possible for the Government in times of peace to carry out great housing schemes or run hotels, there is no need of a ruthless scrapping of the good work that had been entered upon. That work was initiated by men of great experience, high public spirit, and fine attainments as architects and town planners. A great fund of information and experience was gathered which should be preserved in a Housing Bureau of the Department of Labor. We hope that our readers will lend their support to the bill to which Mr. McFarland refers in his excellent and timely statement.

**Congress
and
Reconstruction**

While this special session was called particularly to pass appropriation bills and deal with the Peace Treaty, it has had a vast deal of business under consideration of kinds that

may be characterized as liquidation of the war. Many of these measures are far advanced, but few of them are completed and on the statute books. They have to do with such matters as the reorganization of the army, the future of the new merchant marine, the railroads, and many other topics which will be discussed in these pages as the work of the new session progresses. The friction between our Government and the Carranza regime in Mexico may divert the attention of Congress to the troubled country on our southern border.

*Care of the
Disabled
Soldier*

Misleading statements regarding the work of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance at Washington have recently been circulated throughout the country. One reason why these statements have frequently been accepted at their face value lies in the inability of those who have not given special attention to the matter to appreciate the great number of cases that pass through the Bureau for adjustment and the difficulty under which the Bureau labored in attempting to adjust claims in the somewhat chaotic conditions that immediately followed demobilization. An instance in point is the widely-published assertion that the American Legion had found that more than 114,000 men are now awaiting compensation for their injuries. This seems like a large number of unadjusted claims; but when it is remembered that nothing can be done in any of these cases until the proper blanks have been filled out by the men themselves, and that many thousands of men who have been reported as disabled in line of duty fail to execute these forms, it will be apparent that the Bureau itself cannot be held responsible for the delay in settlement of such claims. They are on record in the Bureau, and when eventually the men make application they will be promptly dealt with. Meanwhile the Bureau is going forward with the hospital treatment of the discharged sick and wounded soldiers, sailors and marines, and the furnishing of artificial arms and legs, under the system outlined in the November REVIEW.

*Republican
Gains in
New York*

Referring again to the elections of November 4, some results may well be set down here in brief digest. In New York State, for instance, the Republicans made large gains in the election of members of the Legislature. The same thing was true in general in municipal elections throughout the State. In

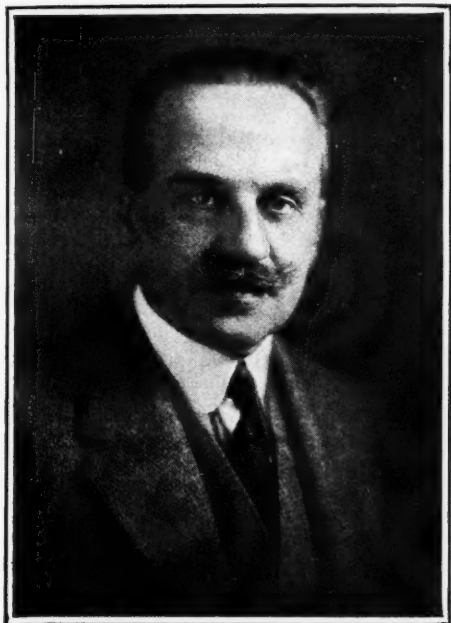
New York City only a few offices were to be filled, but the Republican victory was sweeping. It should be noted that Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., was elected to the Legislature from his home district, Oyster Bay. It has been asserted that the Republicans gained a million votes in the State of New York. This would seem incredible until the reader is reminded that the electorate has been doubled by the admission of women to the franchise. The Republican outlook is bright; yet next year may bring many political surprises. No party can afford over-confidence.

*Our
Cities
Improve*

In a general way, there is steady progress to be noted in the physical conditions and the administrative efficiency of our large cities. The election in Philadelphia resulted in the choice of the Republican candidate for Mayor by a plurality of nearly 200,000. This successful candidate is the Hon. J. Hampton Moore, who has been prominent in Congress. In Chicago, municipal reform has directed itself towards improving the Board of Aldermen; and the elections in November will have resulted in reducing the membership of that body from 70 to 50, and in securing a non-partisan method of election. The Government of Boston is so related to that of the State of Massachusetts that the Coolidge victory strengthens incidentally the forces of good government in New England's metropolis. Boston has been steadily recruiting new policemen to take the place of those who lost their jobs as the result of their ill-advised strike.

*Elections in
Several
States*

The final count in Maryland showed that Mr. Ritchie, the Democratic candidate, was elected by a margin of 165 votes. The Republican candidate, Nice, carried the counties of the State; but Ritchie's plurality in Baltimore gave him the victory. The Democrats have a slight lead in both branches of the Legislature. New Jersey also elected a Democratic Governor, Mr. Edwards having a plurality of 14,000. His attitude against prohibition seems to have been popular. The Republican candidate, Edwin P. Morrow, was elected Governor of Kentucky by a considerable majority. In Nebraska there were elections for a constitutional convention, and the conservative forces defeated the radicals and Non-Partisan League candidates by about four to one. For some days the result in Ohio on prohibition was in doubt, but on the final count the "wets"



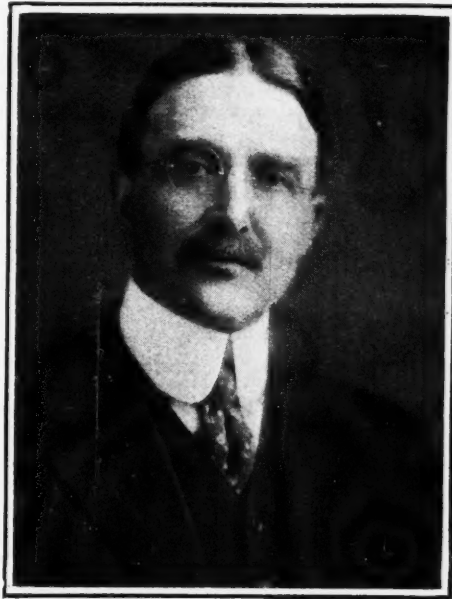
©Harris & Ewing: Washington
PRINCE CASIMIR LUBOMIRSKI, FIRST POLISH
MINISTER TO THE UNITED STATES

(He is a member of one of Poland's oldest families and has served his people in politics for many years. He was educated in Cracow, Vienna, Paris and Nancy.)

carried the State by about 500 votes. The country districts were strong for prohibition, but the cities were not of that mind. While many local issues complicated the elections everywhere, it may be said that upon the whole the pendulum seems still to be swinging towards Republican success.

**Europe's
Hard
Winter**

There have been elections in Europe, which, upon the whole, are reassuring for those who believe in the normal processes of democratic government. Clemenceau and the present administration have been strongly sustained in the election of a new French Chamber of Deputies. In Italy, there were Socialist gains, but the results as a whole are not upsetting. Bolshevism in Russia seems to flourish upon military opposition, but elsewhere in Europe the bolshevistic and anarchistic wave seems to have receded almost completely. A remarkable article contributed to this number by Dr. Alonzo E. Taylor tells us of the distress of Austria as recently witnessed by him. Next month we shall publish an article about conditions in Germany by an American eye witness, who, like Dr. Taylor, writes with experience and with



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DR. ALONZO E. TAYLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY
OF PENNSYLVANIA

(Dr. Taylor's public services as a medical authority and an American expert in Europe for the Food Administration and the Red Cross have given him deserved eminence.)

authority. The present winter will be an extremely difficult one for Europe, with fuel lacking and food insufficient; but it is generally hoped that with the coming spring the worst will be over, and that another year may witness much progress towards better average conditions.

**The House
Railway
Bill**

On November 17, the Esch Bill for the regulation of the railways was passed by the House of Representatives. It differs radically from the Cummins Bill now pending in the Senate and summarized in the last issue of this magazine. The House measure has no anti-strike provisions; it formulates some elaborate but feeble methods for inviting and making easy conciliation in labor disputes. The powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission are extended and the present laws as to rate-making by that body are practically retained. In other words, the House simply avoids the responsibility of doing the vital things necessary to save the twenty billion dollars' worth of railroad property now, apparently, drifting on the rocks. No American governmental proceeding of great dimensions has more notably

and disastrously failed in the past decade, from the point of view of all concerned, than the regulation of railway rates by the Interstate Commerce Commission under a legislative mandate that such rates must be "reasonable"—while no test of reasonableness is laid down and while rates reasonable and absolutely necessary for certain roads are unnecessary and unreasonable for others. Members of the Commission themselves have tacitly or openly admitted their helplessness in the situation; and the shipping public and the millions of railway investors have simply taken the consequences. Yet, facing a crisis in railroad affairs beside which all previous crises pale utterly, the House of Representatives takes, in the Esch Bill, no step even to attempt a rescue.

*Avoiding the
Real
Issues*

In the railroad debates of both the House and the Senate, and notably in those of the House, there was a discouraging lack of perception of the most vital and immediate issues. There was great anxiety over the possibility of some railroads making too much money, while some Congressmen were disturbed over the possibility of large salaries being paid to the higher railroad operating officers. But what we are really confronted with is a situation where practically our entire railroad service is facing an utter breakdown, financially and physically. This is because the roads are not making enough money to operate on an efficient basis or to attract any considerable fraction of the vast amounts of capital necessary, during the next few years, to put them in a position to do the carrying trade of America. Throwing aside, for the moment, all the rights of millions of honest investors in railroad securities, and regarding only the interests of the public and of business at large, which must have decent and adequate freight and passenger service if disastrous loss is not to come, it is positively necessary that the securities of the roads should be removed, on the exchanges, from the category of "cats and dogs." It is literally true that a majority of them are so considered at the present time. Further, as to the iniquity of paying fifty thousand dollars, or twice that, to a railway executive, it is more obvious to a modern business man that the successful executive is cheap at any price when property worth hundreds of millions of dollars is to be brought out of operating chaos, put into operating efficiency, and kept there. It is the one of the axioms of standard efficiency engineering that *managerial*

brains must be had, and that it is really a secondary and unimportant matter what number of dollars is paid for managerial super-excellence.

*Great
Sums
Needed*

More than ten years ago, Mr. James J. Hill predicted that the railroads would need one billion dollars a year for five years to enable them to keep up with the growing demands of traffic and serve the country adequately. The railroads never got these sums, and in 1917 they practically broke down as a result. Now Mr. Dunn, editor of the *Railway Gazette*, whose article on the need for new railway legislation appears in this issue of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, estimates that something like two billion dollars a year for the next three years will be none too much to put the roads on their feet physically. Where this is to come from if the man who has honestly invested his hard-earned dollars in railroad securities sees their value cut in half or worse, with no provision whatsoever for stopping the accelerated drift toward insolvency, it is hard to see. This is merely the cold-blooded business aspect of the present situation. There is another factor of honesty and decency in dealing with these investors of the past, and the misery that would come to them if Congress shirks the duty of making sure that the railroad business shall be put on a solvent basis. This view of the matter is discussed in the present issue of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS by Mr. S. Davies Warfield of Baltimore, who has been creditably active in bringing the fair claims of railway security-holders before Congress and the public, and in planning concrete measures that promise to relieve the situation. His positions are those of common honesty.

*Speculation
and a
Crash*

With the public excited by the tremendous world-demand, at high prices, for iron, steel, oil, sugar, rubber and manufactured goods as well, a speculative movement of dangerous proportions in the securities of companies dealing in these commodities has been under way on the American exchanges for several months. The prices of many such stocks advanced far beyond even the war-boom figures of 1916. Daily new promotions have been coming out—oil companies, chain-store concerns, candy manufacturers (expected to prosper as never before in the new prohibition era), moving-picture and theater combinations, exploration companies, automobile-makers and the like. It seemed for a time

that the investing public's purse was inexhaustible. A decisive note of warning came in the first week of November, when the Federal Reserve Bank established a higher rate of discounts on the borrowings of its member banks, making public, at the same time, the conviction of its governors that speculation, rather than the reduction of loans, was being furthered by the current releases of credit from government needs.

**But Only a
Stock Market
Crash**

But bank loans used for "carrying" speculative stocks continued to expand until, on November 13, the crash came. "Call money" went on that day to 30 per cent., the highest rate seen since the panic of 1907. Stocks were thrown on the market for sale in wild haste by speculators who could no longer obtain from the banks the money to carry such securities on margin; and for a time it looked as if a first-class panic were at hand. The stock of the General Motors Company, the largest and one of the most prosperous of the automobile makers, which had advanced from a quotation of about 30, shortly before the war, to the equivalent of more than 1200, dropped 68½ points in the day and 120 points in the week, while many motor and oil concerns suffered a decline of from 25 to 30 points in the single day. The real prosperity of the country was strongly proved by the quick response of the financial situation to the strong medicine of enforced liquidation, with no mortality or serious after effects except to individual speculators.

**New Estate
of the
Silver Dollar**

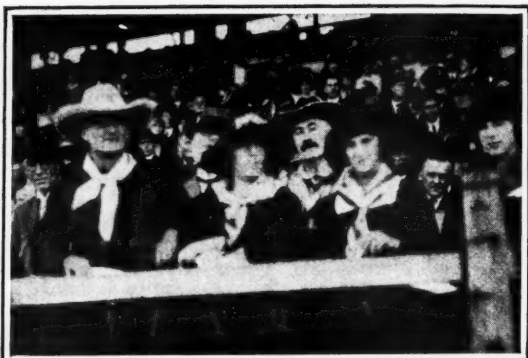
The after-war world is avid not only for commodities but for silver and gold as well. The withdrawal of gold from circulation in many countries and the insistent demand of India and China for silver brought the price of that metal in November to the highest figure in sixty years—so high that the metal itself in a silver dollar came to be worth more than one dollar and even the humble Mexican peso is now worth, for its silver content, about 99 cents, or nearly twice its face value. Not since the days following the Crimean War and the Indian mutiny have the London money-changers bid such a price as \$1.27 per ounce for silver to be shipped to the Far East. China alone bought 7,000,000 ounces in the month of September. London, which normally has eight to ten million ounces on hand, had last month less than a million ounces, and the English shilling could be profitably melted down.

**Gold moving
away from
America**

The enormous stock of gold, more than \$3,000,000,000, that accumulated in the United States as a result of war purchases here—a stock such as was never known before in any country—has begun to dwindle. The Far East is taking gold as well as silver, at a rate never known before, about \$70,000,000 going from San Francisco in the first half of November. This movement has had, no doubt, some effect on the credit restrictions aimed to slow down speculative buying, alluded to in preceding paragraphs. The explanation of this drain of gold to the East seems to be simply that the Orient cannot get all the silver it needs and is using gold, partly, instead. In the eight months ending August 31, exportations of gold from the United States exceeded imports by \$142,000,000.

**The
Shortage in
Paper**

So great is the shortage in the supply of news-print paper, that many newspaper publishers are strongly advocating such a drastic increase in advertising rates and subscription prices as will automatically cut down the consumption of white paper. Never before has such a volume of advertising been offered to newspapers and periodicals. Many of the more important publications have simply to refuse a large portion of the advertising clamoring to be printed. While the shortage is most acute with the newspapers it is being felt more and more acutely by book and periodical publishers as well. The prices of paper are now more than double the pre-war prices, while publishers are begging for more paper, whatever the price, and in hundreds of instances finding themselves unable to get all they need. This astounding and sudden increase in advertising is largely a result of the free, and often reckless, buying of merchandise, both luxuries and necessities, by the public—a tendency that seems not to be halted in any appreciable degree by the current high prices, and which, no doubt has its foundation in the vastly increased incomes of many classes of working people. Retail stores are averaging, it is estimated, 50 per cent. greater sales than in 1918. Rugs, furniture, phonographs, pianos, clothing, toilet articles, motor cars find an insatiable public ready to purchase, and the chief problem of the merchant is to replenish his stocks. For luxuries, pure and simple, the demand is even wilder. Importations of luxuries from abroad are running no less than 125 per cent. above last year.



MR. AND MRS. McADOO, THE GUESTS OF HONOR



"BULL DOGGING"



A COWBOY ROPING AND TYING A STEER



A WOMAN "BRONCHO BUSTER"



AN INDIAN CHIEF, FEW OF WHOM REMAIN

THE PENDLETON "ROUND-UP"

IN the little town of Pendleton, Oregon, there survives an institution which may in the near future reach a natural end through the rapidly changing conditions of Northwestern life. Each year, for three or four days, scores of thousands of people pour into what is a modest-sized village for the rest of the year. In a great arena are exhibitions given by cowboys of bronco-busting, rounding-up steers, and all the features of the old days of stage coaches and cattle-ranching. The occasion is one of great festivity. The Hon. William G. McAdoo attended the 1919 show at Pendleton as a guest of honor, having been unable to accept invitations in previous years. Our illustrations show some scenes of this recent Pendleton festival. In the front row, next to Mrs. McAdoo, is Mr. K. B. Conger of New York.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From November 1 to November 25, 1919)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

November 7.—The Senate, by a vote of 48 to 40, adopts the Foreign Relations Committee's preamble to the proposed "reservations" to the peace treaty, which declares that ratification by the United States shall not be effective or binding until the reservations have been accepted by three of the four principal Allied powers.

The House passes the Edge bill extending government aid and supervision to corporations engaged in foreign trade.

November 10.—The House railroad bill is reported from committees by Chairman Esch of the Interstate Commerce Committee. . . . By vote of 309 to 1, the House refuses to seat Victor L. Berger (Socialist), elected from a Milwaukee district in 1918 and charged with disloyalty during the war.

November 13.—The Senate, by a vote of 46 to 33, adopts the first of a series of reservations to the peace treaty; it declares that military or naval forces of the United States cannot be employed, under Article X of the League covenant, with authorization of Congress.

November 15.—The Senate adopts ten drastic amendments to the peace treaty, each by more than ten votes majority.

November 17.—The House, by vote of 203 to 159, passes the Esch bill providing legislation for restoring the railroads to their owners; the measure is so amended as to make it unsatisfactory to many former supporters.

November 19.—The Senate rejects the peace treaty of Versailles; after voting down the treaty with the Republican reservations by 55 to 39 (13 Republicans voting with the Democrats), the treaty without reservations is defeated 53 to 38 (7 Democrats voting with the Republicans).

Both branches adjourn sine die, and the special session comes to an end.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

November 1.—Both branches of the California Legislature ratify the woman suffrage amendment—the seventeenth State to approve it.

November 4.—Elections are held in a number of States and municipalities.

In Massachusetts, Governor Coolidge (Rep.) is reelected, defeating Richard H. Long (Dem.) by an overwhelming plurality.

In New Jersey, Edward I. Edwards (Dem.) is elected Governor, defeating Newton A. K. Bugbee (Rep.)

In Maryland, Albert C. Ritchie, (Dem.) is elected Governor, defeating Henry W. Nice (Rep.) by a small plurality.

In Kentucky, the voters elect a Republican Governor, Edwin P. Morrow, Governor Black (Dem.) being defeated for a second term.

In Mississippi, Lee M. Russell (Dem.) is elected Governor, without Republican opposition.

In New York City, the Tammany ticket is beaten by impressive pluralities.

In Philadelphia, Congressman J. Hampton Moore is elected Mayor, defeating Harry D. Westcott (Dem.) by the largest plurality ever given a mayoralty candidate.

In San Francisco, Mayor Rolph is reelected in a non-partisan contest, defeating former Mayor Schmitz.

The prohibition issue causes the rejection by the voters of the Ohio legislature's ratification of the federal prohibition amendment, and contributes to the election of the "wet" candidate for Governor in New Jersey and a "wet" candidate for judge in Brooklyn, N. Y.

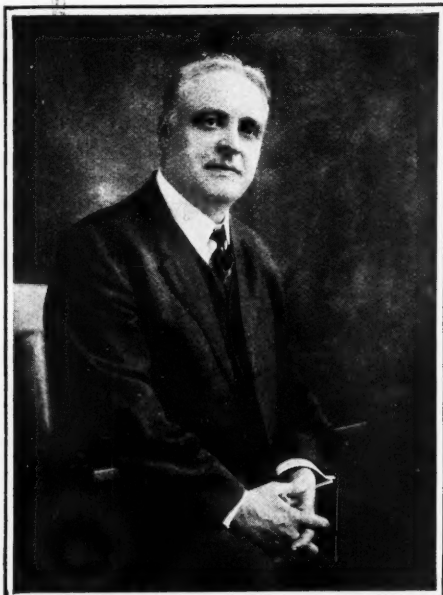
November 8.—Federal Judge Anderson, at Indianapolis, orders the head of the United Mine Workers to call off the coal strike before 6 p. m., November 11.



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HON. CARTER GLASS, OF VIRGINIA

(The death of Senator Martin last month created a vacancy which the Governor of Virginia filled by appointing Hon. Carter Glass, Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Glass had served for many years in the House of Representatives before entering the cabinet to succeed Mr. McAdoo. He comes to the Senate at the beginning of an important new session, and ought to be of assistance in securing ratification of the treaty and proper railroad legislation)



(C) Harris & Ewing, Washington

HON. J. J. ESCH, OF WISCONSIN

(Mr. Esch, who is chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee of the House, is one of the nation's best-trained legislators. His railroad bill, which passed the House before Congress adjourned in November, was meritorious in many respects when presented from his committee, but was greatly vitiated by amendments before passing.)

November 11.—President Wilson leaves his bed for the first time since returning from his Western trip on September 28.

November 12.—Official returns in Ohio show that the voters on election day repudiated the legislature's ratification of the federal prohibition amendment, by a majority of 542 votes.

A national prohibition commissioner is appointed in the Bureau of Internal Revenue, John F. Kramer of Ohio being named.

The chiefs of thirteen railways workers' organizations condemn the House railroad bill as "a conscienceless betrayal of public interests."

November 13.—The Postmaster General announces that during federal control the telephone and telegraph companies earned \$70,387,000, or \$13,000,000 less than the compensation guaranteed them by the Government.

November 14.—The Secretary of Labor brings together representatives of soft coal operators and miners; he tells the miners that a thirty-hour week and a 60 per cent. increase in wages are impossible; he also condemns the standpat position assumed by the operators.

November 17.—The Supreme Court sustains the Government's fight to cancel patents for 6,000 acres of California oil land alleged to have been improperly obtained by the Southern Pacific Railroad.

November 18.—Carter Glass resigns from the President's cabinet as Secretary of the Treasury, in order to accept appointment as United States Senator from Virginia to fill a vacancy.

The President vetoes the bill restoring rate-making power to the Interstate Commerce Com-

mission, on the ground that the Railroad Administration should not be hampered.

November 20. The President names seventeen men as members of a new Industrial Conference, to meet in Washington on December 1 but not to deal directly with existing conditions.

November 21.—The United States Grain Corporation announces the removal, on December 15, of embargoes on wheat and flour, existing for more than two years.

The President revives the Food Administration powers and places them in the hands of Attorney General Palmer.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

November 1.—Municipal elections in Great Britain result in notable success for Labor candidates.

November 6.—The Newfoundland elections result in the overthrow of the Ministry of Premier Cashin and in the success of candidates backed by the Fisherman's Protective Union.

November 14.—Gabriele d'Annunzio, in control of Fiume for several months, seizes also the Dalmatian port of Zara.

November 15.—A Bolshevik army in Russia captures Omsk and continues in pursuit of the Kolchak forces.

November 16.—The French elections, the first held since the beginning of the war, result in a triumph for Premier Clemenceau and the rout of extreme radicals and Socialists.



(C) Underwood & Underwood

KING ALFONSO OF SPAIN (LEFT) AND MARSHAL PETAIN

(The Spanish King has recently visited the battlefields of France, and this picture was taken in the lanes of the cemetery at Verdun.)

General elections in Italy result in trebling the number of Socialist Deputies; Catholics participate freely for the first time in years.

November 18.—A revolutionary movement against the Kolchak government in Siberia, led by the Czechoslovak General Gaida, results in failure and the imprisonment of its leader.

November 22.—Leaders of all parties in Hungary confirm Karl Huszar as Minister President.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

November 7.—The Supreme Council for the fourth time demands that Rumania withdraw her troops from Hungary.

November 10.—The Prince of Wales enters the United States, after an extended tour of Canada.

November 11.—President Pessoa signs a resolution ratifying the Treaty of Versailles, passed by the Brazilian Congress.

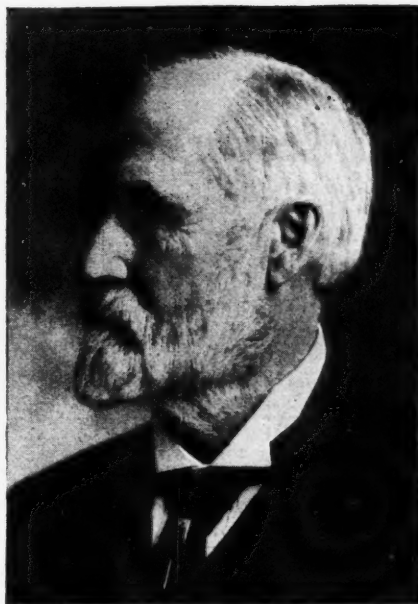
November 13.—The young Prince of Wales calls upon President Wilson in his sick room at the White House.

November 18.—The British Government demands eight former German ships, held by the United States Shipping Board on the ground of actual American ownership through a parent corporation.



(C) Underwood & Underwood, New York
THE LONGEST LIFT BRIDGE IN THE WORLD—
OVER THE CHICAGO RIVER AT TWELFTH
STREET

(Of never-ending wonder to the visitor is the way in which the Chicago River winds in and around the center of the great Western metropolis, bringing large freight steamers to the very doors of industrial establishments and markets. There are nearly one hundred bridges across the river and its branches, within the city limits. The lift bridge in the illustration above will be opened to traffic this month. It is 300 feet long, and the "balance" weighs nearly one million pounds.)



THE LATE PROF. JESSE MACY, OF
GRINNELL, IA.

(Professor Macy, who died last month, was a distinguished citizen of his State, and an authority in American history and in political science. He had been connected with Grinnell College for more than half a century when he retired some years ago. He was the author of valuable books, and as an exchange professor gave courses in several French universities just before the great war. At that time he wrote a series of articles for this magazine, which in 1913 printed an article on his career.)

November 20.—The United States demands the release of its consular agent at Puebla, William O. Jenkins, imprisoned by the Mexican authorities as party to his own kidnapping.

November 21.—Lettish troops capture Mitau, the capital of Courland and recent headquarters of German troops.

The Supreme Council decides to give Poland a mandate over Galicia for twenty-five years.

November 22.—The Prince of Wales sails for home, after a busy twelve days spent in the United States.

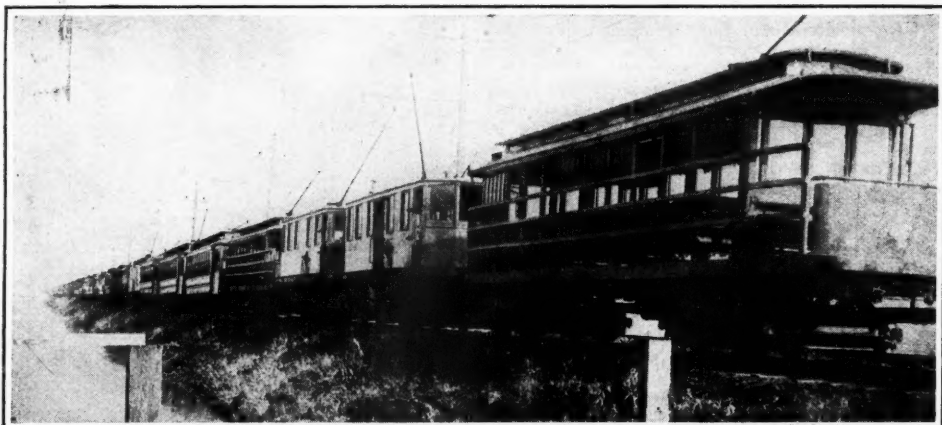
November 24.—The Jugoslavs demand of the Supreme Council that action be taken to curb Gabriele d'Annunzio.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

October 29.—An International Labor Conference assembles at Washington, in accordance with provisions of the treaty of peace with Germany.

November 2.—John D. Rockefeller makes an additional gift of \$10,000,000 to the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research in New York City, making a total of \$27,000,000 to that institution.

November 9.—The American Federation of Labor endorses the coal miners' strike and pledges full support; the Government's restraining injunction is declared "so autocratic as to stagger the human mind."



A LONG LINE OF TOLEDO (OHIO) TROLLEY CARS PARKED ACROSS THE BOUNDARY IN MICHIGAN

(The Toledo street-car company increased its fares, and the City Council—supported by a popular vote—punished the company by annulling its rights in the streets. The company surprised the city by prompt obedience, and under cover of darkness ran its cars out of the State. A compromise, of course, was sure to be reached. The Toledo case merely illustrates the difficulty of hundreds of towns and cities where the people want low fares and the companies want to avoid bankruptcy. The cheapest article now sold in the United States is local transportation, and the next cheapest is the carrying of freight and passengers on steam railroads)

Every street car is withdrawn from service in Toledo; the company had increased fares, and the voters had sustained an "ouster" ordinance passed by the Council.

November 10.—Silver bullion sells at \$1.30 an ounce, in New York, a rise from \$1 in May.

November 11.—The coal strike leaders decide to obey the order of a Federal Judge and the strike is called off; the Secretary of Labor invites the operators and men to confer in Washington.

November 15.—Major-General Black informs the Chicago Commercial Club that the city's drainage system has lowered the level of the Lakes half a foot, diminishing draft for commerce to the Atlantic and decreasing water power at Niagara.

November 17.—The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace estimates the direct and indirect cost of the war at four hundred billion dollars.

November 19.—The shortage of soft coal, although the miners have been ordered to return to work, is so acute as to close large industrial plants in many sections of the country.

November 20.—The soft-coal miners reject the operatives' offer of 15 cents a ton and 20 per cent increase to wage-earners.

November 23.—The soft-coal miners accept a wage increase of 31.6 per cent, proposed by the Secretary of Labor; the operators refuse to agree.

A committee of the International Labor Congress meeting at Washington under the provisions of the peace treaty—complete a compromise report recognizing the principle an 8-hour day and a 48-hour week.

November 24.—The composers in New York printing establishments return to work after nearly two months of "vacation"; the men fail to win their demand for a 44-hour week and an increased wage.

Railway track laborers and shop workers, approximately 400,000 men, receive higher wages and a shorter day through agreement reached with the Railroad Administration.

OBITUARY

November 1.—Col. James D. Bell of New York, commander-in-Chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, 74. . . William H. Hardy, last survivor of Commodore Peary's expedition to Japan in 1853, 84.

November 2.—Edgar Stanton Maclay, historian of the United States Navy, 56.

November 3.—Field Marshal Count Terauchi, Premier of Japan 1916-1918, Minister of War during the conflict with Russia, and first Governor-General of Korea, 67.

November 4.—Calvin Thomas, head of the department of Germanic languages and literature at Columbia University, 65.

November 5.—Winifred T. Denison, Secretary of the Interior of the Philippines, 1914-16, 46.

November 7.—Hugo Haase, president of the Independent Socialist party in Germany, 56. . . Charles Henry Hitchcock, for forty years professor of biology and mineralogy at Dartmouth, 83.

November 9.—Walter Edward Weyl, a widely known writer in the field of economics and sociology, 49.

November 11.—Cardinal Felix von Hartmann, Archbishop of Cologne, 67. . . Edward K. Emery, Justice of the Supreme Court of New York, 68.

November 12.—Thomas S. Martin, United States Senator from Virginia since 1895 and leader of the Democratic minority, 72. . . Earl Brassey, a British naval authority and yachtsman, 83.

November 14.—Major Henry L. Higginson, the Boston banker and patron of music.

November 17.—Capt. Robert Hunter Fitzhugh, of Kentucky, last surviving member of General Lee's staff, 83.

November 19.—Adolf Groeber, chairman of the Center or Clerical party in the German parliament, 65.

November 22.—Dr. Franklin Carter, president of Williams College from 1881 to 1902.

November 23.—Dr. Allan McLane Hamilton, of New York, an authority on nervous diseases, 71.

CURRENT CONTROVERSIES IN CARTOONS



WALGHE.

THE PIED PIPER
From the *Bulletin* (Sydney, Australia)



FROM ONE WHO KNOWS
From the *Times* (Los Angeles, Cal.)



"AMERICA MUST STAND ALONE"
—Senator Johnson
From the *Times* (Los Angeles, Cal.)

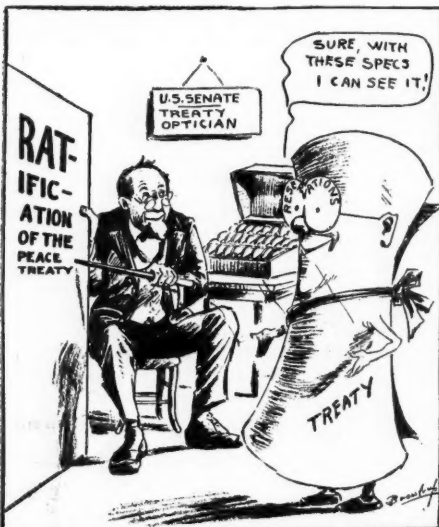


IN ORDER TO GET THE SUGAR
From the Tribune (Chicago, Ill.)

The cartoonists have naturally taken rather extreme attitudes in their presentation of the treaty deadlock at Washington. Generally speaking, these positions have been colored by the editorial and political convictions of the newspapers which the cartoonists serve with reasonable independence but with a proper sense of their own influence in shaping public opinion.



THROWN OUT ENTIRELY
From the American (New York)



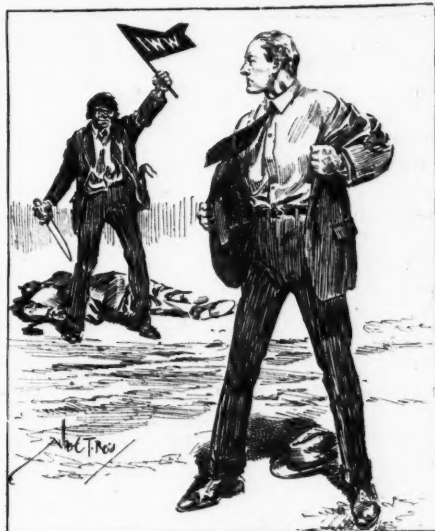
SHOULD HAVE "RESERVATION" SPECTACLES
From the Chronicle (San Francisco)



AS THE WORLD SEES US!
From the World (New York)



AT THE JUNCTION OF THE ROAD
From the *Star-Telegram* (Ft. Worth, Tex.)



ANOTHER JOB ON HAND
THE VETERAN: "Having made the world safe for democracy, it looks as though I would have to help make the United States a safe place to live in."
From the *Tribune* (South Bend, Ind.)



THE PIPE OF PEACE
From the *News* (Grand Rapids, Mich.)



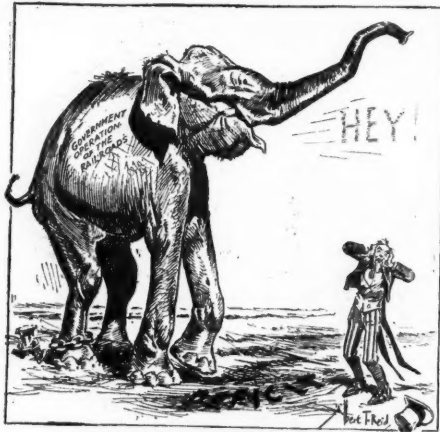
(C) Press Publishing Company
THE WALK (?) OUT!
From the *Evening World* (New York)



NO TIME TO PARLEY
"All right,—if it has to come, let's have it out right now!"
From the *Press* (Philadelphia)



DISCOURAGING
From the *News* (Chicago)



AN ELEPHANT ON HIS HANDS
From the Journal (Wilmington, Del.)



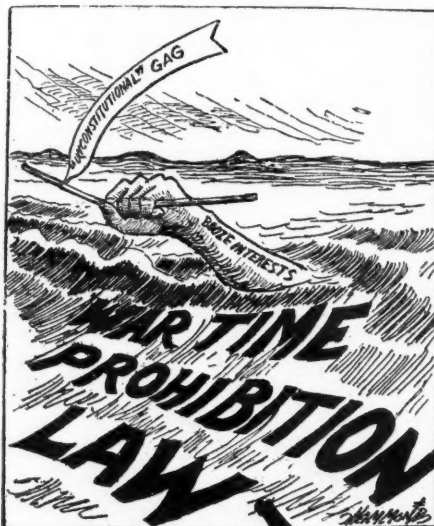
THE OLD BIRD IS A YEAR OLD
From the Ohio State Journal (Columbus, Ohio)



THE LATEST STRIKE
From the Journal (Wilmington, Del.)



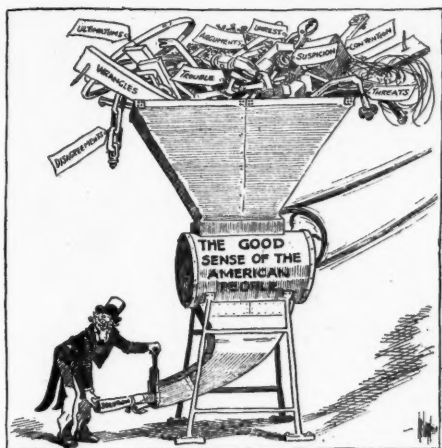
A CHANCE TO WRITE A TREATY OF HIS OWN
From the Post-Dispatch (St. Louis, Mo.)



GRASPING A STRAW
From the Eagle (Wichita, Kan.)



PUBLIC NOTICE
From the Eagle (Brooklyn, N. Y.)



THINGS GENERALLY COME OUT ALL RIGHT
From the *Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)



(C) Press Publishing Company

JOIN THIS UNION

From the *World* (New York)



HIS GREATEST MEMORIAL
From the *News* (Grand Rapids)



FOR REDUCING THE WASTE
From *Opinion* (London)



TO KEEP OUT HOGS, BUILD FENCES
From the *News* (Dayton, Ohio)

AUSTRIA'S PRESENT PLIGHT AND DISMAL FUTURE

BY ALONZO ENGLEBERT TAYLOR

[Dr. Taylor had been for many years professor of pathology in the University of California, and later professor of physiology in the University of Pennsylvania. He was one of that large group of educators and scientists who gave their services to the nation with the outbreak of war. Dr. Taylor was chosen to represent the Secretary of Agriculture on the War Trade Board. He has just returned from Central Europe, with fresh and authoritative knowledge of conditions there, particularly in Austria. We are fortunate in obtaining this picture of a remarkable situation.—THE EDITOR]

WHAT is the matter with Austria? What is not the matter with Austria! If we believe that nations, like human beings, have diseases, we may say that Austria is suffering from every hereditary disease that a nation can be heir to and from every infectious disease to which a nation is susceptible. She has visited upon her the sins of her forefathers; and she has no vitality to bequeath to her children. Austria stands today the most hopeless picture of political desolation and economic disintegration.

The present boundaries of Austria contain supposedly not over eight million people. When the Czechs, Hungarians, Slavs and Italians within her borders leave, as they must leave both for the sake of themselves and of Austria, the population will be reduced to about six and a half million. The present population of Vienna is two and a quarter million and this will be reduced to a million and a half when the emigration of non-Austrians is completed. Under the terms of the treaty of peace, Austria retains Vorarlberg, the Tyrol north of the divide, Salzburg, Upper and Lower Austria, most of Styria, part of Carinthia and none of Carniola. Of this only Upper and Lower Austria are really agricultural country, the rest is semi-mountainous or truly alpine.

The food-stuffs produced within the boundaries of the present Austria in the pre-war period were not sufficient to feed the population of the present Austria over four months of the year; the food supply of two-thirds of the year must be imported.

This places Austria in the class with Switzerland and Norway, to choose illustrations among small nations. Switzerland and Norway have industries that enable them to pay for the food-stuffs they need to import. What industries does Austria possess? Leav-

ing aside all consideration of war losses and war debts, the plot of country that is now Austria did not before the war possess industries that would enable her to import two-thirds of the food supply of her present population. The balance of trade of the semi-mountainous and alpine districts was maintained only with the money of the tourist. Upper and Lower Austria could possibly be self-supporting in food-stuffs alone, but would possess nothing to exchange for commodities.

How Vienna Has Fallen

In Vienna was the bureaucracy of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. A certain shifting of the bureaucracy to Budapest had occurred within the last forty years, but Vienna remained the Hauptstadt. The administration of the imperial government of the customs, the military organization, the railways, the waterways, of shipping, of the taxes and excises, and of the church were located in Vienna. The control of the trade in grain and cattle from the Baltic to the Adriatic was in Vienna. The bureaucracy of the banking system of Central Europe was in Vienna. There was an enormous population of petty civil servants. Vienna was a city of art, science, literature and culture, in excess of the domains of Austria-Hungary. The portion of the population engaged in productive enterprises was small, not over one-sixth of the total. Vienna was the clearing house, the exchange, the forum, the ball-room of Central Europe. Only to a small extent was she the factory city of the empire; and that empire was an agrarian and not an industrial nation.

Now Austria-Hungary is split into six different nations. Czecho-Slovakia has eighty per cent. of the intensified industry of the old

empire. Poland has the oil of Galicia and some of the coal of the Silesian basin. With Trieste has disappeared the shipping of the empire. But all the bureaucracies remain in Vienna, because the bureaucracies of the empire were not divided among the nationalities of the empire but were constituted almost entirely by Austrians. In other words the Austrians were the officials, the civil servants, the administrative and industrial bureaucracies of the empire. With the creation of the new states, these develop, naturally, their own administrations; and half the population of Vienna is out of occupation.

A Dismal Future

Now what are these people to do? Enter upon agriculture? Where, within the borders of Austria? Enter upon manufacturing? In what factories, with what materials and with whose coal, within the borders of Austria? It has taken Switzerland a hundred years to develop her industries under the conditions that Austria would have to face,—importation of basic materials and of fuel and exportation of the finished articles to the ends of the earth. But Vienna cannot wait a hundred years, these people must have employment at once. Failing that, they must emigrate or perish.

Comparable to the resources of the country, Vienna should be a city of not to exceed a quarter of a million inhabitants. To where are these people to emigrate? With whose means, and to do what, in the land of their adoption? Last year Vienna in large part and the rest of Austria to a lesser degree, were fed with food purchased through credits advanced by the United Kingdom, France and Italy. Who is to feed them during the present year? They have no buying power, no earning power, no bargaining power. They have only one thing to sell; that is their art. Vienna has wonderful paintings, tapestries, and collections of artistic and historical value. She probably has enough to feed the country for several years; and when they are gone?

A Bankrupt and Famished Nation

The Austro-Hungarian Empire was bankrupt within a year after the declaration of war. Her bankruptcy has been multiplied each year. The national debt of Austria, when contrasted with her resources, constitutes the most ludicrous fiscal statement in history. There is nothing left except repu-

diation; and repudiation means no advantage, not even in bookkeeping.

The Viennese have been hungry for five years. Scarcity of food occurred in Vienna earlier than anywhere else in the great war. With Bucharest and Warsaw, Vienna has been the deepest sufferer. Since the day of the installation of the first bread card, in March 1915, half of the population of Vienna have not had their hunger satisfied. Half a dozen times during the war starvation en bloc was averted in Vienna only by the Germans rushing military food stores to that city. Upon one of these occasions, Vienna was provisioned with food-stuffs that constituted the pre-war storage of the forts of Metz!

Although the great Austro-Hungarian monarchy was before the war a food-exporting state, she became during the war a parasite upon Germany. She was so inefficient that she could not rob even the conquered areas; the Germans had to do that for her. Shall we say "so inefficient" or shall we say that Austria had a heart? The collapse of the food supplies of Austria was not merely the result of inefficiency, it was in part the result of sabotage. From the first day of the war, the Czecho-Slovaks shirked and did everything they could prevent the success of the Central Powers. This was one reason why the army of Bela Kun found the Slovakian divisions so vulnerable in the campaign of last summer; an army that has been systematically trained to sham fighting for four years, will not stand when suddenly told to do so. The preponderance of Roumanians and Serbs in southern Hungary was such that no pressure could be applied to them; and when the writer motored through the Banat in March of this year, the land looked as free of war as Iowa.

For two years the empire's military authorities dared not requisition food for the army in Croatia, whose soldiers would fight against the Italians but against no one else. Whether the result of inefficiency or sabotage, every reduction in the food supply fell earliest and heaviest upon Vienna.

Could Austria Live upon Tourists?

Austria has no coal, a little salt, a little copper, no iron of moment; the soil of her hills raises little food and under this soil are no minerals or metals. In this respect she resembles Switzerland; but she comes face to face with these deficiencies in one moment, while Switzerland has grown up with

them. Austria has beautiful lakes, mountains, glaciers, and rivers; in many respects the Tyrol, even the northern watershed that alone remains to her, is as beautiful as Switzerland. But the number of tourists in the world is limited, the care of tourists is not developed as in Switzerland, it is primitive in the Tyrol. Mountaineers go to the Tyrol, not tenderfeet. It would require capital and organization to equip Austria for competition with Switzerland as a playground. And for years to come the battlefields of Belgium, France and Italy will hold attractions that mountain climbing cannot rival. If Vienna could retain her art she might have hopes that Austria might become a world's playground. But with Vienna a city with dwellings for two million people, empty of art and half empty of people, it is not possible to convert the Tyrol into a world's playground.

The Political Outlook

What is to become of Austria politically? Apparently the views of the Allied and Associated powers run to the effect that Austria should be condemned to permanent isolation. This is the official opinion deduced from the treaty of peace. The Austrians want to join with someone, out of sheer helplessness. Naturally they wish to join Bavaria, since Austrians and Bavarians are brothers in religion, views of life, political opinions and worldly sentiments. During the war Germany loaned billions of marks to Austria and this debt would presumably be cancelled if she were joined to Germany. This fact, although it represents really only a bookkeeping loss, has made the Prussian cold to the idea of the annexation of Austria; but not so the Bavarian, who ardently desires to join Austria to his country and to feed and care for her people.

If Bavaria had separated from the rest of Germany, France would have approved of the union of Austria and Bavaria. But the French people, apprehensive of future Teutonic wantonness, cannot accept the idea of seeing seven million more people added to the German empire. It does no good to say that the Austrians would not be a source of strength but certainly a source of weakness to Germany. It makes no difference to point out that the accession of Austria would aid Bavaria in re-

sisting Prussian domination. The mere figure of seven million settles the argument for France. Waiving aside military considerations of the distant future, the writer is unable to see any reason why Austria should not be allowed to join Bavaria. If she is compelled to remain isolated, she will during the period of necessary emigration become a charge upon the world. Is it fully realized that today Austria is worse off than Armenia so far as food, clothing, and fuel are concerned?

The Austrian Faces the Future

The psychology of the Austrians is one of inexplicable apathy, a fatalistic complacency, a dullness, a palsy of the consciousness, with the retention of the artistic qualities that were always characteristic of the fashions and frolics of Vienna. And without bitterness! They know that they have lost the war and that they are trebly bankrupt; but they do not understand the reasons for the isolation of Austria.

In the Austro-Hungarian empire were nearly fifty-five million people, of these there were some eight million Germans and eleven million Magyars; in other words, sixty per cent. of the population of the empire belonged to other nationalities. The Austrians and the Hungarians ruled these sixty per cent. badly. As the result of the war, these sixty per cent. claim their independent national existence. The Austrians are not able to understand why the eight million Germans and eleven million Magyars should not be given another chance to rule fifty-five million people considerably and progressively. But history is not written that way. The Viennese will argue with great ingenuity that Central Europe is an industrial, agricultural, and economic unit; and there is a great deal in this. There must have been something substantial in the relations that held this heterogeneous monarchy together for so long. But the hand of fate has decreed that six separate states are going to split the agriculture, industry and the economics of the old empire into six separate parts and attempt to organize and administer them under six different political governments. If they fail, Austria fails with them. If the other five succeed, Austria still fails. It is the most remarkable situation in the history of the world.

THE FIRST YEAR OF PEACE

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. THE ANNIVERSARY

WITH the month of November we have passed the first milestone since the Armistice ended the World War. Looking backward over twelve months, it is clear that the mood of the world has changed tremendously since the hour when the victorious Allies imposed their preliminary terms upon the German and brought to a definitive close that period which had begun more than four years before, when the first German regiments appeared before Liège.

Such comment as marked the recent anniversary, comment made hurriedly by men and nations harassed by a multitude of dangers, perplexities and difficulties, economic as well as political, demonstrated that the initial year of peace had brought with it endless disillusionment, that few of the hopes which were generally expressed in November, 1918, had been realized a year later and many of the expectations had been wrecked.

Yet at the outset of this brief review of the events of the past year, it is essential to emphasize the fact that many, perhaps most, of the expectations held on the earlier date belonged to the category of the confident hopes of one long ill, who, with the first return of strength, with the earliest recognition of the actual defeat of the disease, believes himself capable, not alone of taking up old tasks with familiar vigor but in fact of undertaking even greater labors, when, as a consequence of long illness, his strength has largely vanished.

Similarly the very character and extent of the great struggle, the degree to which the whole of the populations of the European nations had been exhausted, the amount of destruction which had been wrought, clearly indicated the fact that all recovery would be slow, while the manner in which Russia had succumbed to weariness and agony, disclosed symptoms which were in some degree to be looked for all over the European Continent. In truth, the nations allied against Germany had by the very narrowest of margins escaped defeat in battle and collapse at home and were in no condition to make rapid recovery.

Despite this obvious circumstance, peoples and leaders boldly affirmed on the morrow of the Armistice, not alone that the defeat of Germany and the consequent liberation of mankind from one of its most deadly menaces was to be made secure, but also that the consequences of the victory were to be extended until war was made next to impossible and a peace of conciliation was to placate the enemies, while a peace of justice was to provide for the reparation due to victims of German devastation.

At the moment when the Russian Empire was consumed by an unparalleled conflagration, the Austro-Hungarian Empire fallen into desperate chaos, the German Empire become the battleground between order and madness, with all its ancient landmarks removed and its traditional leaders exiled, the Paris Conference met to remake the world and to provide a basis for future world organization, while at the same moment it liquidated the most destructive conflict in all human history.

In this Conference, too, America with totally different conceptions, political experience and training, Great Britain with purposes like America's different from Europe and like Europe's different from America, met Europe condemned in the very nature of things to take full cognizance of all its traditions, its history, its peculiar Continental necessities. In a word, three totally different and, in a measure, mutually exclusive ideas met, in the presence of an imperious necessity to restore some sort of order in a stricken world and as an inevitable consequence there emerged, not a fusion of the three views, but a document made up of such compromises as had been inevitable, but were calculated to destroy the efficacy of the three policies represented, each of which might conceivably, had it been adopted in its totality, served to meet the situation with at least a measure of adequacy.

We had then, throughout the long months of the Paris Conference, a never-ending series of confused and confusing reports, opinions, ideas. To America demanding through the President a peace of conciliation, Europe, our recent Allies, responded with

an unanswerable demand for indemnity for the past and security against the future. But in order to pay the just claims of France and Belgium, it would be necessary for Germany to dedicate to this task her earnings and her economic future for a generation and such a labor could only be expected of Germany if she were placed under constraint. Such constraint in itself abolished the idea of a peace of reconciliation.

More than this, while asking for a peace of reconciliation, the United States united with France and Great Britain in the demand that the subject peoples of Germany, the Poles, the Danes and the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine should be restored to their former associations. It was simple justice, this demand, but it meant depriving the Germans of all of the conquests from the period of Frederick the Great to William I, dividing Prussia into two disjointed fragments, taking from the Germans most of their iron, much of their coal and at least one of their most fertile provinces.

Again, this course, founded upon mere common justice, carried with it for the Germans consequences so grave that it was self evident that no German would accept the decision, which seemed to him not unreasonably a death sentence, save as it was enforced by power and only while the power was undeniable. If he consented to evacuate Posen, West Prussia, permit a plebiscite in Upper Silesia and resign the port of Danzig to the League of Nations, he would do all these things only with the clear determination to set aside this whole settlement, when once the chance came.

More than this. Long before the war, at its inception and throughout its course, German leaders had told the German people that the neighbors of Germany sought to destroy the German state and ruin the German prosperity, which had developed in recent years. These neighbors were portrayed as jealous, vengeful, united by a common desire to wreck the German nation. This was false, but the very manner in which Germany had assailed her neighbors, the extent to which she had plundered and devastated their cities and fields, made it inevitable that the compensation demanded should be almost ruinous for the Germans.

Thus the Germans who had taught their countrymen to believe their neighbors planned German ruin, were able to transform the decisions of Versailles into confirmation of this prediction, to convince the German

people the peace was unjust, and easily to persuade them to accept it only as a necessary submission to force. Thus all chance of a peace of reconciliation quickly passed and left the old fears and insecurity.

II. THE RUSSIAN PROBLEM

From the outset then the hope of reconciliation with Germany was impossible, a vain imagining, because it was attainable only by permitting Germany to escape the consequences of her crimes and thus condemning her victims, France and Belgium, to approximate economic and financial ruin and continuing the Poles, the Danes and the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine in permanent political slavery. But the German rock was only the first of the many on which the hopes of the Armistice hours grounded. Not less fatal was the Russian obstacle.

If the Conference of Paris, as the executive for the victorious allies, was to restore peace in the world, it could only do it by actually bringing the whole world within its sphere of operations. As long as the greatest European race, occupying the largest single national area in Europe, was not only engaged in a revolution of enormous proportions but was also plotting and carrying on an open war against western nations and western institutions, seeking to upset all political and economic institutions and replace them with Bolshevism, world peace was impossible.

The Paris Conference had, then, to deal with Russia. But it could only deal with Russia in one way; it had in the nature of things to turn its victorious armies against the Bolshevik hordes and crush them—a thing by no means impossible, since Bolshevism had lost strength through its concomitant anarchy and misery. Peace, the Paris Conference could not make with Bolshevism, because Bolshevism itself was a purpose to upset governments and institutions outside of Russia.

It was impossible to make peace with Lenin and Trotzky, just as it would be impossible to make peace with a would-be assassin, who does not renounce his purpose to kill, because there is no method of living with him. It is true that at times the Bolsheviks were willing to agree to a truce, but only to prepare a new attack, and never were they prepared to lay aside their purpose, which was and is to destroy all western institutions and substitute the rule of the

lowest elements for that of the higher, the educated, the intellectually superior.

But if it was impossible to reach any basis of agreement and therefore necessary to attack and destroy the Bolshevik enemy, the Paris Conference promptly discovered that all attack was impossible because neither the soldiers nor the publics of the Allied nations would consent to a new campaign. The soldiers mutinied, the publics protested and it became necessary to abandon any operation against the Bolsheviks.

Following the decisive failure of a policy of armed intervention the Paris Conference tried many half measures. It sought conference and adjustment through the Prinkipo proposition. It endeavored to use the newly liberated states of the East as a sanitary cordon to shut out Bolshevism from Central Europe. It had recourse to small armies, where only large could have real results. In the end it was compelled to confess utter bankruptcy. It could frame no policy to take the place of forcible intervention, largely if not wholly because no other policy could be discovered, but it was prohibited from employing this single policy which gave promise of success by the state of mind of war-weary publics and "fed-up" soldiers.

But precisely as the inability to frame a peace of reconciliation with Germany destroyed one-half of the hope of re-ordering world relations, the similar failure in the matter of Russia disposed of the other half. Against Germany it was necessary to stand in arms, since Germany in the nature of things would only perform the obligations imposed upon her under duress and saw in them injustices such as would move her to new attacks. Against Russian anarchy, Bolshevik madness, it was necessary not alone to take measures for protection in Eastern and Middle Europe, but also in every country Bolshevik ideas were seized upon by a certain fraction of the population and used with terrible consequences to domestic peace.

Thus, all through the Conference of Paris, France and Great Britain and Italy to an even larger extent, were threatened with internal disorders growing out of a mixture of Bolshevik doctrines with war weariness and exhaustion, while at the same time they had to face the possibility that Bolshevism would conquer the German, the Austrian nationalities, and the Polish people. The reality of the danger was vividly indicated

when Hungary suddenly threw herself into the arms of the Bolsheviks.

In America the extent of the apprehensions in Paris was never accurately appraised, but it was no less true that the statesmen who were engaged in the effort to restore world peace and lay the foundations for new world amity were constantly oppressed by the fear that at any moment they might be engulfed in a tidal wave of anarchy which would sweep them and their little edifices out of existence. And against this great menace they could take only the most puerile of measures, since their own publics were determined to make no more sacrifices.

Again and again in Paris the Bolshevik spectre created a panic and temporarily diverted the course of negotiations and changed the decisions of the statesmen. The possibility of an alliance between the German and the Bolshevik was always present. Recognizing that the German was henceforth permanently hostile, Paris feared to impose upon the Germans the extreme penalties, which had been deserved, lest Germany should follow the example of Hungary and, in utter madness and hopelessness, cast its lot in with Russia. Conceivably all these fears were exaggerated, but what is really important is the influence they had upon events, not the degree to which they were sound or absurd.

Moreover, and this point is cardinal, in failing, of necessity, to make a peace of reconciliation with Germany, in completely failing to arrive at any *modus vivendi* with Russia, the Paris Conference lost its last chance of establishing in the world any new international system. The maximum of possibility was very plainly disclosed by March to be to reach some sort of settlement embodying just recognition of the claims of these nations which in common alliance had defeated the Germans and hope that such a settlement would create a strong group of nations, bound together by recent alliance and by a common will to preserve order in the world and defend one another against attacks coming either from the German or the Russian Bolshevik.

III. NATIONALISM

Unhappily this third and wholly restricted possibility proved equally impossible of attainment. It was true that the British and the French were able to meet the Americans in some sort of compromise, although

not until long and difficult debates had almost shaken the Conference to the ground. But this Anglo-French-American concord could only be attained by compromises which seem to have weakened the treaty fatally in America and certainly served to rouse the opposition of all the other nations represented at Paris.

Thus the British insisted from the outset upon the preservation of their sea power, the possession of all of the German Colonies, save those they had by secret treaties assigned to France and Japan, and they demanded reparation from Germany so enormous that in conjunction with French and Belgian demands it spelled the permanent economic slavery of the German. The French on their part, associating themselves with their Allies and opposing America in the matter of reparation, claimed first the frontier of the Rhine and second the right to annex the Sarre Coal Basin.

The British claims were established, subject only to the rather shadowy indirection of mandates in the matter of the colonies and the eventual elimination of most of the financial demands. The French claims were reduced by the creation of a neutral zone on either bank of the Rhine and the limiting of French occupation of the Sarre Basin to fifteen years, with an eventual plebiscite to settle final ownership. But these differences had in no small degree separated the British, the French and the Americans, created resentments and established precedents.

Thus, when it came to the claims of Italy and of Japan, claims founded upon secret treaties which preceded the entrance of the United States into the war, both Italy and Japan insisted upon their bargains and Italy, while demanding that she should have all that was promised her by the Treaty of London, claimed in addition the port of Fiume on the basis of the principle of self-determination. Meantime, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Jugo-Slavia began to demand territories, possession of which not infrequently carried with it the promise of future struggles.

In sum, with Germany unappeased, rather invested with permanent resentment, with Russia beyond the reach of the Paris Conference, the negotiators in late March and early April saw their own alliance begin to collapse. The Italians presently left the Conference and D'Annunzio at a later time asserted by force the Italian claim to Fiume in defiance of the Paris decision. Rumania

invaded Hungary, occupied Budapest, annexed Bessarabia. Polish armies penetrated deeply into Russia and seized Lemberg, expelling the Ukrainians from Eastern Galicia and maintaining their claim to this portion of their ancient state in defiance of the will of the Peace Conference.

At the same time a deep schism was discoverable among the three remaining allies. The French saw with horror the collapse of the alliance against Germany, the alienation of their two Latin associates, Italy and Rumania, the growing certainty that these two states would in the end make a common cause with Germany and thus appear as enemies of France in any new war, such as was now to be expected. In the same way they viewed with keen disapproval the Allied determination, the Anglo-American course in opposing Polish claims, both with respect of Russia and of Germany, and thus not merely alienating Polish sympathy and removing a corner-stone of new French policy in Europe, but risking a Polish lapse to Bolshevism such as had taken place in Hungary.

Briefly, then, in the presence of a reassertion of nationalism, in the face of an irresistible wave of racial aspirations in the case of smaller peoples, confronted by a renaissance of traditional policy and purpose on the part of France, the Conference of Paris lost all authority as the executive of the victorious alliance. Rumania defied it with impunity, encouraged by France and Italy. Italy flouted it not alone with French sympathy but with a certain measure of British tolerance.

Meantime Jugo-Slavia, Poland and Greece looked on with amazement, while the Paris Conference sacrificed their dearest interests to abstract conceptions, become almost fantastic now that the authority of the Conference had been reduced to a shadow. And, as was natural, these states in their turn began to assert their independence, while Greece, less favorably placed and more unfairly treated than all other states, appealed from a Paris decision in favor of Bulgaria procured by American influence and obtained the immediate support of both the British and the French.

Finally, mutual rivalries, jealousies, conflicting claims of France, Great Britain and Italy in the old Turkish Empire, prevented—and prevent—any solution of that problem. Portions of the coast have been occupied by the French, the British and the Ital-

ians, while the Greeks are in Smyrna, but the problem as a whole has not been solved and Europe awaits an American agreement to take as a mandate Constantinople and that portion of Asia Minor which lies outside the immediate sphere of interest of the several powers and is with more or less accuracy described as Armenia.

IV. THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

It remains to say a word about the League of Nations. With the American phase, with the political discussion, I shall not deal. In all my comment in this magazine I have endeavored to leave to others, far more competent than myself, the task of dealing with American politics and have confined myself to European aspects, nor is there any temptation to depart from this course now.

But from the European point of view the League of Nations represented the *sine qua non* of American participation in European affairs and Europe was eager to have America stay in Europe, naturally and necessarily anxious to have our immediate aid on the financial side and the very great guarantee of our military aid, should the German again attack his neighbors.

For this aid the Europeans were prepared to pay and for them the price was represented in the League of Nations. In turn our representatives called upon our recent associates to make sacrifices to our ideas of a just settlement and a permanent state of justice. We compelled the British to surrender Lloyd George's fantastic figures for German indemnity, made in the heat of his "Khaki" election in the fall of 1918. We compelled the French to abandon all idea of annexing the left bank of the Rhine or even the Sarre Basin. In addition we undertook to compel the Italians to abandon Fiume, the Rumanians to abandon portions of Hungary and Russia, and the Greeks to resign considerable areas in Thrace. Finally we exhausted all our resources in endeavoring to persuade the Japanese to abandon Shantung.

As to the British, they paid the price asked of them. British policy at Paris was inspired by a determination to promote good relations with America at any possible cost. As to the French, they gave up the left bank of the Rhine and agreed to leave the question of the Sarre to a plebiscite fifteen years hence. But the Italians, the Rumanians

and the Japanese positively refused to accept our views at any price. With the Japanese we made a more or less complicated bargain, a compromise by which they took but agreed to surrender Shantung, but the Italians and Rumanians would not yield and the Greeks are still unreconciled.

Meantime, as I have said, French sympathy moved toward the Rumanian, the Italian and the Greek, since France was bound to have an open frontier and a corresponding danger on the German side. Moreover, France had only submitted to American ideas because she had been promised American military assistance in case of a new German attack. In other words, America had offered herself as a substitute for the Rhine barrier to persuade France to abandon this claim. But as French confidence in the actual value of this substitute diminished during the Senate debates on the Treaty, French sympathy moved away from the League of Nations covenant, with its Anglo-French-American alliance detail, toward an old continental arrangement.

Now whatever be the merits or demerits of the course in the United States Senate, whether the Senate has acted wisely or wrongly, the effect of the debate and the course of the majority has been unmistakably to deprive the League of Nations in European eyes of its single real strength. It was accepted—with modifications—by Europe as the one price necessary to pay to enlist American interest in Europe. It was believed to be the expression of the demand of the overwhelming mass of the American people.

If it was accepted by the British with only well-concealed mental reservations in certain directions, if it was accepted with enthusiasm by certain Englishmen, sure that it represented a new bridge between American and British publics, it was accepted by the French only in the spirit in which one takes disagreeable medicine to cure a worse disease. It was not accepted at all by the Japanese, the Italians or the Rumanians, nor has it been, in any real sense, submitted to the Germans or put before the Russians.

In America the League was frequently represented as a demand of stricken Europe, but in Europe it was widely regarded as a condition imposed by powerful—all-powerful—America. It is true, true beyond cavil, that Europe needs and asks our present assistance, our continuing participation in its life. But once it be clearly established in Europe that the League of Nations is not an

American demand, that there is, to say the least, a clear division of opinion about it in the United States, an unwillingness to give it official American endorsement with a corresponding commitment of American interests, then, in my judgment, the result will be a swift reversion to old ideas, an actual settlement, so far as settlement is possible, of European questions by Europeans, with greater regard to material and practical concerns than to idealistic or moral considerations.

Moreover, and the point seems to me vital, no matter what the ultimate decision in Washington, whether the treaty be rejected or laden with reservations, the demonstration of the strength of the opposition in the United States will deprive the League of Nations principle of its main European appeal. In the recent journey of President Poincaré to London, in the promise of a new Conference of London to deal with the Turkish Question, in a score of other less considerable incidents, I see the first evidences of an inevitable decision to go back to old-fashioned methods in dealing with European questions.

V. SUMMING IT UP

In a sense, then, the first anniversary of peace sees us confronting many, if not most of the problems of a year ago, seemingly as far from settlement now as then. "Business as usual" has not come, either in the relations of nations or in the domestic conditions of the various states. In so far as the Conference of Paris was expected to put the world back upon a normal basis, solve all the vexed problems of international rivalries and racial and national disputes, it has failed and its early adjournment will serve to demonstrate this fact.

Yet it seems to me this can be only a superficial judgment. We expected a miracle, more than a miracle, we have received instead only a thoroughly human and fallible arrangement. But the greatest vice in the present situation seems to me to flow from the frequent assertion that if this or that thing had been done differently, this or that mistake not made, roses would grow where thistles are now innumerable. The truth would seem to be that in 1918 as always in the past, there existed no short cut to the millennium.

The war defeated the deadliest peril of Modern History, namely, the German ag-

gression founded upon the German conception of force justified by its own achievements and subject to no limitation imposed by right. It will be a generation, it may be a century, it may be forever, before the German attempts to assert his gospel of 1914 again. In this sense we did make the world safe for democracy, but we did not also make it easy, nor did we win victory without sacrifices, the burden of which will weigh upon us for decades to come.

We did something else beside defeating Germany, we set millions of men and women free from tyranny, from oppression, from slavery, political, if not economic. Some 40,000,000 of Europeans, alone, are now free to follow their language, their customs, their political aspirations. In thus making these millions free, we did not make them angels at the same time, we did not endow them with proper and fitting regard for the rights of their own neighbors. On the contrary long generations of servitude and corresponding lack of political experience have rendered inevitable excesses and stimulated ambitions, which constitute a present menace to the peace of the world and will not soon be banished.

But what basis in history or human nature was there for expecting that the newly liberated Pole would come forth from slavery purged of all those aspirations and ambitions which have led other races to endless wars? Who was it said of our Puritan ancestors, driven from Europe by persecution, that they "first fell upon their knees and then upon the natives?" Is it less an enduring fact, a permanent gain for the world, that the forty millions have been freed, granted that it will be long before they learn the just relation of their freedom to their neighbors' rights?

Even in Russia, where the present prospect is most appalling, it is at least true that a stupid and hopeless system has been destroyed. It has been succeeded by something indescribable in its horror, but in the very nature of things impermanent. Bad as it is, it undeniably contains the seed of something better, which never could have been said for the Romanoff régime. Does one think the world much worse off now because there exists a revolution dominated by Lenin than it was when Russia was a reactionary state, controlled by the foul superstition of a Rasputin?

A quarter of a century separates the French Revolution from the restoration of

that approximate order which followed Waterloo. The convulsion of a century ago was not more complete, more terrific than that through which we have just passed, and the whole of western Europe really found itself in a better material condition at the end than in the beginning owing to the reforms France forced alike upon herself and upon her enemies. But the present war has brought devastation and destruction such as the world has never known and little of it has yet been repaired or can be repaired, in any short period.

After a great convulsion, after a world struggle, the peace which follows seems a mighty poor recompense for the sacrifices and a small return on the hopes and aspirations of the hour. It was true in the case of the Peace of Westphalia, of Utrecht, it was especially true of the Peace of Vienna. Yet in each case the principle established by war, however little recognized by the peace settlement, endured, while the mistakes of the peace conference, itself, were, one by one, remedied.

In my judgment we have touched dead low water mark, in the pessimism growing out of the war. Until the present winter has passed there will be real danger of general disorder and possible expansion of Bolshevism. If the winter is severe in Europe human misery may find expression in some temporary explosion such as Russia has endured for nearly three years. But it is dishonest to assert that this disorder would have been avoided if Japan had not been permitted to occupy Shantung or Danzig had not been separated from Germany.

The disease from which the world still suffers arises out of the war, not out of the evils born since the Armistice. Mistakes were made at Paris, vain hopes were cherished on many sides, whose negation brings disappointment and bitterness, our statesmen the world over promised what the ancient gods of Greek mythology could not have performed, but neither their mistakes nor their failures explain the troubles of today and the peril of to-morrow.

VI. WHAT IS COMING?

I have wandered rather far afield in this article, because I have wanted to deal for a moment with that pessimism which seems to me one great and unnecessary obstacle to real peace. This is the sixth year that I have been reviewing with the readers of this

magazine the progress of world events. To me the war was before all else a defense of our institutions and ideals against a fatal menace. I never despaired of ultimate victory, even in the darkest hours of the war, but to me the defeat of the German seemed so tremendous a thing to hope for, that when it arrived and since it arrived, I have remained grateful and, in some slight measure, satisfied.

Such history as I have been able to read in my life has never supplied warrant for any expectation that the immediate termination of a world-wide conflict could be the signal for a total reorganization of international relations, or a complete transformation of human nature. On the contrary it seems almost certain that the Paris Conference was, in advance, condemned to be little more than the first, wholly halting step in the direction of the restoration of world order.

If one chooses to compare the territorial changes made at Paris with those made at Vienna a century before, it becomes plain that the Paris decisions were far more in accordance with principles of justice than those of the earlier session. It may be that all division of European territories in accordance with the will of the various races is idle, impossible in many cases, but at least a genuine effort was made in Paris and, on the whole, with success. By contrast, when did the will of the people determine any important decision at Vienna? Provinces were handed back and forth without any regard to right, Italy was turned over to foreign masters, Belgium joined to Holland, Poland partitioned once more, German states reduced or expanded to suit Prussian and Austrian wishes.

Now we have liberated Poland, Czechoslovakia, expanded Serbia and Rumania into real states, by putting the Southern Slavs and Eastern Latins under their sway. We have given France Alsace-Lorraine, Italy Trieste and the Trentino, Denmark her Schleswig; we have set free more Greeks. Unhappily, along with this great work, we have called into new vitality old racial rivalries, which slumbered but still survived from earlier periods when the people yesterday enslaved were free.

As a consequence the disputes of the Italians and the Southern Slavs, the Rumanians and the Serbs, the Hungarians and the Rumanians, the Poles and the Ukrainians, the Lithuanians and the Poles continue. It may

be many years before they are finally settled. The settlement may bring new wars, but it is not less possible that economic necessities will in due course of time contribute to compelling great as well as small nations to compromise their difficulties.

I do not want to seem to prophesy, but it is fairly certain that the Rumanian Question will be to the fore for some years to come. It will take more than some compromise made in Paris or Washington, really to reconcile Southern Slavs and Italians to any conceivable solution of their Adriatic dispute. There is no absolute right or wrong in any of these complicated race differences. If I were an Italian in Fiume I should prefer to fight to the death than become a subject of the present King of Serbia. If I were a Serbian, a Jugo-Slav, I would make any sacrifice rather than permit my country to be excluded from the sea and thus placed in economic servitude to the Italian. Self determination is an admirable principle, but it becomes inapplicable when, as in the Banat, no race has a majority and a separation on the basis of ethnic elements leads to an economic monstrosity.

As to a real world settlement, we shall not have it until Russia achieves some form of order, until Germany decides to live in conformity with the principles of western civilization, until the smaller races of Middle and Southeastern Europe reach a *modus vivendi*. In so far as the Paris Conference undertook to reorganize the world on a permanent basis and become a sort of supergoverning body, it failed. It could not punish and placate Germany. It could not crush and tolerate Bolshevism, it could not preserve the solidarity between its component parts, when the several parts quarrelled over details in the settlement.

The alliance against Germany could, in spite of obvious difficulties, incidental to all alliances, make war, because it was equally a matter of life and death for all the allies to defeat the German. No such unifying influence compelled coöperation in peace-making, the Frenchman who would fight to save France from the invading German would not go to Russia to crush Bolshevism. With the coming of the Armistice separate nations automatically resumed their own individualities and the effort to preserve the old conditions failed completely.

In the past six months from Paris and later in America I have striven to present

to the readers of this magazine the impassable gulf between American and Continental opinions, each the product of totally dissimilar experience and tradition, the gradual drift of the Continent back to its historic pathways, of America to her normal isolation, and the rather hopeless effort of the British, sharing certain European views and enjoying a measure of American isolation, to bridge the gulf.

The Rumanian episode was the first clear indication of the Continental drift, the Fiume incident the second. Whatever else may be said of it, the course of the United States Senate, so far as the treaty of Versailles is concerned, reveals a corresponding American reversion to a policy, which M. Take Jonescu would describe as one of "national instinct."

But if we are in a state of full reaction to national habit, at the present hour, after the brief subordination of national views to common necessities, it seems to me that we can expect at no distant time a new swing toward some enduring basis of association, less intimate than appeared possible to many a year ago, but more in accord with historical precedents. For I do not believe the United States can permanently regain its old isolation and I know that Europe has too great need of American association not to seek a new basis of co-operation.



A YEAR AGO IN THE ARGONNE
From the Republic (St. Louis, Mo.)

PRODUCTION WAITS ON RAILROAD LEGISLATION

BY SAMUEL O. DUNN

(Editor of the Railway Age.)

THE railroad situation in the United States is very bad; it is daily growing worse; and unless constructive measures for dealing with it are soon adopted, it is likely to become the cause of national disaster.

The railroads are to be returned to private operation at the end of this year. President Wilson so announced last May, and he has not changed his mind. It has been recognized ever since the carriers were taken over by the Government that if they should ever be returned to private operation there should first be passed legislation greatly changing and improving our system of regulation.

Nevertheless, the special session of Congress has been adjourned and with return to private operation only a month away no railroad legislation has been enacted. The House has passed the Esch bill but it is an entirely inadequate measure. The Cummins bill which is pending in the Senate is much better, but it may not be passed before the end of the year; and it is impossible to anticipate how much it will be changed before the Senate acts on it. The Esch bill as reported from committee was quite a good bill, but was completely emasculated in the House. After the Cummins bill has been passed the two measures will be sent to conference, and subsequently the conference committee's report will have to be acted upon in both houses. The prospects of adequate permanent railway legislation before the end of the year seem very poor.

While Congress is considering railway legislation, evidence of the pressing need for it accumulates. Last spring when the carriers lost the freight resulting from war activities there was a sharp decline of traffic, but the revival of the so-called "non-essential" industries was so rapid that in October the traffic available was larger than ever. The railways were unable to handle all that was offered, as they have been every time in four years when the country has been producing to anything like its capacity. This directed attention once more, and more forcibly than ever, to the positively enormous

shortage of railroad facilities which has accrued.

It is now proposed to return the railways to private operation under legislation continuing the existing guarantees of "standard return," in order to give Congress more time to work on permanent legislation. Since the nation has decided in favor of restoring private operation, probably it would be better to return the roads to their owners under even temporary legislation than to continue government operation.

But the fact should be clearly recognized that the return of the railways to private operation under temporary legislation will not have any of the important effects which would be produced by their return under the right kind of permanent legislation. The only effect of temporary legislation continuing the Government guarantees would be the entirely negative one of making it practicable to hand them back without immediately bankrupting many of the companies and precipitating a panic.

Why Reform of Regulation is Needed

If the railways should be restored to private operation without the passage of any new legislation, the system of regulation to which they would become subject would be that existing prior to Government control. A large majority of them succeeded in remaining solvent and in rendering good service under that system, and it may be asked why it is so necessary now to make important changes in regulation. The answer is twofold:

First, developments during the last few years when railways were privately operated demonstrated that under the old system of regulation the solvency of our entire railroad system was being undermined and its ability to increase its facilities enough to keep abreast of commerce was being destroyed. The rate of return earned by the railways as a whole steadily declined in the ten years and especially in the five years ending with 1915. The result was that in the fall of

that year more miles of railways were in the hands of receivers than ever before. This decline in the return earned was accompanied by a corresponding decline in the amount of investment made. In consequence, when in the fall of 1915 there suddenly began, owing to the war in Europe, a vast increase of traffic, the railways were caught unprepared and were unable to handle all the business offered.

The second reason why new railroad legislation is necessary is that, bad as the railroad situation had become under Government regulation it has become much worse under Government control. Operating expenses have increased much more than rates and earnings; and the Government incurred in 1918 a deficit of almost \$250,000,000 and in the first nine months of 1919 one of about \$270,000,000. The average ratio of expenses to earnings has increased under Government operation from about 70 per cent. to about 90 per cent.

Enormous Deficiency of Transportation Facilities.

Very few people realize how far the development of the railroads has fallen behind that of our other industries and what a vast investment must be made in them before they will be able under any form of management to handle commerce satisfactorily again. Between 1905 and 1915 the freight traffic handled increased 61 per cent. and the passenger traffic 45 per cent. The increase in the investment in the railroads meantime was \$5,300,000,000, or 44 per cent.

The increase in the freight traffic actually handled since the year ended on June 30, 1915, has been 57 per cent., and the increase in passenger business 35 per cent. If the investment made in new facilities had been as great in proportion to the increase in the traffic actually handled in the last four and a half years as it was during the preceding ten years, it would have been \$5,000,000,000. The investment actually made has been less than \$1,900,000,000. Because of higher wages and prices, this has not provided any more facilities than would have been provided before the war by \$1,300,000,000.

Therefore, measured by the increased traffic handled, the deficiency of investment which has accrued in the pre-war value of money, has been \$3,700,000,000. The average railroad wage is to-day 125 per cent. more than it was in the ten years before the

war. Prices of materials and equipment have advanced fully in proportion. If the deficiency of investment actually is \$3,700,000,000 measured in the pre-war value of money, then with present wages and prices it would cost at least \$7,000,000,000 to make it up.

But the deficiency of investment and facilities really is not as great as this figure would indicate, because since 1915 and especially in the last two years of private control, 1916 and 1917, there has been a great increase in the efficiency of operation. It is this wonderful increase in efficiency which has made it possible to move 57 per cent. more freight and 35 per cent. more passengers, with only about 5 per cent. more freight cars and practically no more locomotives, passenger cars, or miles of line.

But it has been clear to all competent students of transportation matters for some time that the limit of what can be handled without a large increase of facilities has about been reached. In 1918 the Government had the use of \$577,000,000 worth of new facilities which the companies had provided in 1917, and it exercised practically unlimited power. Yet it was able to increase the amount of freight handled only 1.8 per cent. Besides making up this deficiency within the next three years the railways should spend at least \$1,000,000,000 additional a year to take care of the future normal growth of business, making a total of about \$6,000,000,000 in three years.

The editor of the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS*, having in mind no doubt the thought that in view of recent developments none of the more extreme proposals for railroad legislation which have been made is likely to be adopted, has asked me to try to state the minimum requirements of a legislative program the adoption of which would enable the railway companies to resume the operation of their properties with a reasonable prospect that our railroad problem will be solved under private operation.

I shall attempt in the remaining part of this article to state concisely both the provisions which in my opinion the new legislation should contain, and the minimum provisions the enactment of which will be of any substantial benefit.

1. Rule of Rate-Making.

The problem of rate regulation is the heart of the railroad problem. Unless it is solved no other action taken will be of any

value. The present Act to Regulate Commerce merely requires the Interstate Commerce Commission, when it finds a rate unreasonable, to fix the maximum reasonable rate which must thereafter be charged. There is nothing in the law which requires the commission to take into consideration the need of the public for adequate railroad facilities. Furthermore, under existing laws, rates within the States are fixed by State authorities, and they can make them whatever they like so long as they do not make them absolutely confiscatory and do not directly work an unfair discrimination against interstate commerce.

It is provided by the Cummins bill that the railways shall be divided into groups and that the rates of each group shall be so fixed as to enable the group to earn an average of at least $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon the combined value of their properties. The Interstate Commerce Commission, in its discretion, may allow an additional $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to be earned, which must be invested in unproductive improvements and not capitalized. Any railway which earns more than 6 per cent. must pay part of the surplus into a reserve fund of its own and part into a general railroad contingent fund, and in any event it cannot use more than one-third of its net operating income over 6 per cent. in paying interest and dividends.

The proposal of the Association of Railway Executives is that the law shall require rates to be made sufficient to enable the railways adequately to develop their facilities, and that while the final rate-making authority shall remain with the Interstate Commerce Commission there shall be created a Transportation Board which shall from time to time certify to the commission the amount of revenues which the railways need. Its certification would be practically conclusive unless reason were shown why it should be disregarded. Under both these plans federal regulation of rates would be made practically exclusive.

The Interstate Commerce Commission is primarily a judicial body, and probably it is desirable that a Transportation Board—which would be purely an administrative body—should be created to consider not merely the past and present, but the future; to keep constantly in touch with the nation's transportation needs, and to certify to the commission what action should in the public interest be taken regarding rates. The very minimum that the law should provide is

that the Interstate Commerce Commission—assuming that no Transportation Board will be created—shall so fix rates as to enable the railway companies to earn enough to make it possible for them to raise sufficient capital adequately to develop their facilities. Surely the nation desires its transportation facilities to be made adequate. Why, then, should not the new railroad legislation definitely say so?

With respect to State regulation of rates, while perhaps it should not be abolished, certainly the new legislation should provide that the States shall not in future adopt any regulations which will unduly interfere with or burden interstate commerce, or which will prevent the Interstate Commerce Commission from so regulating rates as to make possible the adequate expansion of railroad facilities.

2. Regulation of Securities.

There is a great deal of exaggeration of the extent to which the capitalization of our railways has been "watered." When the valuation being made by the Interstate Commerce Commission is finished it undoubtedly will show that the value of the railways as a whole exceeds their capitalization as a whole. But there has been over-capitalization in many cases. To prevent this and other financial abuses, some federal body should be given exclusive authority to regulate the issuance of railroad securities and also to inform itself and the public as to the use made of funds derived from their sale. Probably it would be best to have the regulation of security issues performed by an administrative body such as a Transportation Board. If no Transportation Board is created this important function should be given to the Interstate Commerce Commission.

3. Consolidation of Railways.

The present federal laws prohibit all consolidations and agreements of railways which will limit competition. The public and public men were so impressed by the harmful consequences caused by these laws when the railway companies attempted in 1917, in the stress of war, to coördinate their operations, that there is now a widespread sentiment in favor of wholesale consolidations.

The Cummins bill provides that all the railways must be consolidated into from twenty to thirty-six systems; that the proposed Transportation Board shall determine what railways shall be united into these

various systems; that the consolidations which it requires shall be voluntary for seven years and then compulsory.

That many consolidations of the so-called "weak" and "strong" roads should be effected to eliminate wastes due to excessive competition and to promote more uniform development of the various railways clearly is desirable. It is doubtful, however, whether a governmental policy of compulsory consolidation would prove any more beneficial than has the past governmental policy of compulsory dissolution of consolidations. Probably the minimum for which the law should provide is that the railway companies shall be made free to effect any consolidations which the Transportation Board—if one is created, otherwise the Interstate Commerce Commission—shall hold will not be contrary to the public interest.

4. *Settlement of Labor Disputes.*

The Cummins bill provides for compulsory arbitration of railway labor disputes and prohibits strikes or attempts to incite strikes under heavy penalties. The railway labor organizations are in favor of the creation of Boards of Adjustment and a Board of Railroad Wages and Working Conditions composed equally of railway officers and employees, such as those which have been created by the Railroad Administration; but they are unalterably opposed to any provision which will prohibit strikes. Experience in countries where compulsory arbitration has been tried shows that it is practically impossible to make men work when they do not want to. On the other hand, the public clearly has a right to more protection from strikes and lockouts on railways than it has now. The minimum requirement in relation to this matter which will protect the public interest is that before a strike or lockout can be declared any dispute arising between railway companies and their employees must be submitted to a Board of Adjustment on which the companies and the employees shall have equal representation, and that in case of disagreement by the members of this board there must be appeal to a Board of Arbitration one-third of whose members shall represent the public, one-third the companies, and one-third the employees.

The public has a right to require under adequate penalties that it shall not be made to suffer the terrible consequences of a suspension of the operation of the railroads until every reasonable effort has been made

to bring about a peaceful settlement of the matters in dispute.

5. *Indebtedness of Railways to Government*

Under government control the railway companies have incurred a substantial amount of indebtedness to the Government, due chiefly to investment which the Government has made in their properties. To require the railway companies to liquidate this indebtedness at once, or in the near future, would interfere with their raising new capital which should be invested in additional facilities, and would financially embarrass many of them. The Government should give the railways at least ten years to liquidate their indebtedness to it; meantime, of course, charging them at a reasonable rate.

Advance in Rates Will Be Necessary.

It is thirteen years since James J. Hill wrote his famous letter saying that unless our policy of regulation was so changed as to encourage and stimulate the increase of railroad facilities it would be but a matter of time until the growth of the country's industry would be stopped by the inability of the railroads to handle its commerce. The nation has persisted since then in the policy of restrictive regulation against which Mr. Hill uttered his warning, and this, together with conditions created by the war, has brought to pass practically the situation which he feared. The railways are to-day limiting the production of the United States, and they will for some time continue to limit it unless there shall be an industrial depression due to other causes.

The only way to remedy this condition is to substitute for the old restrictive policy a constructive one—a policy which, instead of keeping railway rates and earnings as low as they can be without actual confiscation, as has been done in the past, will make them as high as is necessary to enable the railways to compete successfully in the money market with other industries for the capital they need.

The adoption of this policy will necessarily involve raising railway rates substantially, and keeping them higher as long as wages and prices remain high. But will it not be better for industry and for all classes of people to have adequate transportation at rates which will be remunerative to the companies, than to have transportation which will constantly limit production and thereby limit the general prosperity and well-being?

RIGHTS OF RAILROAD OWNERS

BY S. DAVIES WARFIELD

(President, National Association of Owners of Railroad Securities;
President, Continental Trust Co., Baltimore.)

THE railroads of the country have been under Government control and have been operated by the Government since January 1st, 1918. They were taken as a war measure. In taking possession the Federal Control Act of Congress provided that each property shall be returned to its owners "in substantially as good repair and in substantially as complete equipment as it was in at the beginning of Federal control."

The Act, has therefore, established the Government's obligation for physical damage to the railroads. This is only a part of the obligation assumed by the Government when private owners lost the control of their properties. The owners had no voice in determining the terms of rental for the war use of their properties. There was not time for negotiations and setting up of values.

The return of the railroads to their owners scheduled for January 1 next is faced with catastrophe should Congress fail to carry out the letter of the contract under which they were taken over. The operating income of the railroads has shrunk under Government control, as of June 1, 1919, to about 40 per cent. of the average for the test period. Where this deficit is being materially reduced it is feared the upkeep of the properties is neglected. To be handed back in such a condition would leave the railroads, as a whole, where their income would be insufficient to take care of a large proportion of the interest upon their bonds.

The holders of these obligations include the vast army of people holding life-insurance policies or having deposits in savings banks, or both. There are thirty-five million people carrying unduplicated life-insurance policies who have a direct investment through these reserve funds in railroad mortgage obligations. There are ten million depositors in mutual savings banks similarly situated. Common honesty demands that the Government shall observe both the letter and the spirit of the contract.

It is unthinkable that Congress would fail to rise to the full recognition of this obligation. Should the Government ever cease to

be the exemplar of good faith in dealing with the people we would be involved in moral bankruptcy. With a clear perception of this obligation there can be little doubt that it will be fulfilled. The practical interest is in the method of fulfillment.

Incident to the war we have seen the aggregate wages paid to railroad employes rise from \$1,700,000,000 to approximately \$3,000,000,000 a year. There has been a proportionate increase in the cost of materials and supplies, so that when the railroad properties are returned there has been attached to their operations a revolutionary advance in all expenses. While this has been going on with the cost of labor and materials and supplies, the income value of the product (transportation) has been stationary under the Government lease. The same measure of establishing the rental to be paid continues to be the return to the owners of these properties under the Government contract. The aggregate of this rental—approximately \$932,000,000 per year—remaining stationary, shows convincingly that the Government policy has been to take care of the increased cost of labor and supplies, not out of the revenues of the roads but from that raised by all of the people, instead of transferring these costs as a charge for service through increased rates where they belong.

Congress in taking up the practical problems involved has held exhaustive hearings as to the essentials for protecting the railroad credit structure. The whole fabric of credit, and with it the fate of our national prosperity, depends upon the solution of this problem before permanently turning back the railroads to private operation.

The solution is found in Section 6 of the Cummins bill, now before the Senate of the United States. The highest authorities, and those who have given exhaustive study to the question, are forced to a conclusion that upon the fate of this one section of the Cummins bill depends the question whether the private operation of railroads may be safely resumed and private ownership perpetuated.

The terms "strong" and "weak" when

applied to railroads indicate more truly the territory the respective roads serve than the financial condition of the road to which it is applied. Rates adjusted to the fair guarantee of the roads serving "strong" territory, where traffic is dense, fail to produce sufficient revenue to the roads serving "weak" territory where traffic is light.

The powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission are practically limited to making rates of universal application to all railroads in a competitive territory. Rates adjusted only to the fair requirements of the 53 so-called "strong" railroads, in their application to the traffic carried by the 109 "weak" roads, fail to produce sufficient income to preserve the credit and permit the development of the "weak" roads. If rates were adjusted to the fair requirements of the 109, earnings would be produced to the 53 roads in excess of what the public, the shippers, and the Interstate Commerce Commission would or could stand for. This was characterized by Senator Cummins as the "insoluble problem."

Something must be done. The problem was to secure to those 109 railroads serving "weak" territory revenue sufficient to enable them to perform service and produce a reasonable return upon their investment, fairly computed, without at the same time producing more earnings to the 53 roads serving "strong" territory than should be retained.

The National Association of Owners of Railroad Securities suggested to the committees of Congress which have been considering railroad legislation, a simple and effective method to relieve the conditions mentioned and stabilize railroad credit and securities. This method was substantially adopted in Section 6 of the Cummins bill now before the Senate.

The effect of that section is to provide that the Interstate Commerce Commission shall establish a level of rates that will yield "as nearly as may be" $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the aggregate value of the property and equipment of the railroads devoted to the public use, plus one-half of one per cent., at the discretion of the commission, for unproductive improvements. For the purpose of determining and adjusting rates so that they will yield a living and fair return, the commission shall arrange the roads (as they have done in the past for a similar purpose) into as many groups as they may decide.

Railroads that earn in excess of the given reasonable return of 6 per cent. on their in-

dividual property investment or "fair value" will retain one-half of such excess as incentive. The remaining half would create a national fund to be used in the interest of transportation as a whole, in purchasing equipment and joint facilities, etc., to be leased to the railroads but not capitalized for rate making.

Under Section 6 of the Cummins bill the aggregate value of the roads of respective groups is taken, the rates are based on such aggregate value without regard to securities that have been issued by any road. If this Section is passed the idle talk about paying or earning "dividends," or a return on "watered securities" and "shadow dollars," will cease and private ownership and operation will be permanently established.

Many railroads will not earn as much as the $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. or 6 per cent. on their individual property and equipment. Each railroad will earn on its own value as much as it can secure through the traffic it handles and through efficiency in operation and management. So a railroad that is over capitalized in securities suffers in the percentage return it may receive on such securities. Those roads that earn over the 6 per cent. have the incentive to make the earnings in excess thereof as great as possible because they retain one-half of such excess (one third after 6 per cent.).

There is no guarantee of any description, directly or indirectly given. Rates are made that would yield the stated return on the value of the transportation system *as a whole*; and no two roads will necessarily receive the same percentage return, because each earns on its *own value* what it can from rates made for *all*. The leveling is accomplished through the regulation of earnings in excess of the percentage return.

No informed person will contest the statement that *in the aggregate* the properties and equipment devoted to the public use of Class 1 railroads (89 per cent. of the total mileage) are worth more in the aggregate than the seventeen and a half billion dollars shown by the books of the railroads.

There has been loss of confidence in railroad securities, due to the impossible conditions under which the railroads were compelled to exist in the absence of power in the Interstate Commerce Commission.

The removal of this doubt depends upon the preservation, in any railroad legislation adopted by Congress, of Section 6 of the Cummins bill.

WAR-TIME HOUSING AND THE GOVERNMENT

BY J. HORACE McFARLAND

(President of the American Civic Association; late Treasurer of the Commission on Living Conditions of War Workers, Department of Labor)

TO many of us "civilians" who invaded and permeated official Washington during the months when the war stress made our assistance welcome to the Federal government, the question as to the fate of the housing enterprises undertaken by Uncle Sam is important. When one has tried to "do his bit" in the endeavor to speed up war production, and has at the same time sought to gain for the nation a lasting peace advantage out of war efforts, the outcome of such efforts seems a proper matter of concern.

The story of war housing endeavors may be briefly sketched as a background to the present difficult situation. It was early discovered—when the urge of necessity made essential the rapid production of munitions, ships, guns, and supplies for our armies—that not only had peace-time industrial housing in the centers of manufacturing failed to keep pace with actual needs, but that labor could not be held by either high wages or patriotism where living conditions were bad. Shelves to sleep upon, or the three-shift beds which never cooled between use; food handled almost in troughs as for swine; the absence of bathing, resting, and recreation facilities; transportation to and from work in continuous discomfort—all these conditions made big pay a mere incident of discontent and migration from one job to another in the hope of finding some place fit to live in.

Upon the federal government, therefore, was forced the defensive necessity of providing more housing and better housing. War restrictions prevented private building; only Uncle Sam could go ahead. Three governmental agencies undertook this work—the Ordnance section of the War Department, the Emergency Fleet Corporation, and the United States Housing Corporation in the Department of Labor.

Believing that a long war was upon us, extended plans were made by the eminent architects, town planners, engineers, builders, and sanitarians, who became available not

only because of patriotism but because the war suspended the enterprises which ordinarily engaged them. For the first time in the history of the nation, the big men of construction took up the making of adequate and better homes for artisans.

One section studied all existing shelter facilities in the industrial centers, and made available through that study thousands of additional room units.

Whole towns were planned, with the streets, squares, parks, schools, stores, churches, and hospitals all provided for, and such contiguous transportation changes as would aid production of war necessities by conveniencing workers. Desirable new standards were worked out for sewers, heating, baths, water connections, and the varied essentials to efficient housing and community living. Construction went on apace, and this inconspicuous home army accomplished marvels in preparing for war-production housing that was also intended to serve peace times to better advantage.

The United States Housing Corporation alone undertook to care for nearly three hundred thousand workers. Some two hundred sites were plotted, and property purchased into the thousands of acres. Dwellings were commandeered and temporary dormitories and refectories provided. Great hotels were built, including one work of decency and mercy in Washington planned to house some eighteen hundred of the hundred thousand young women who came to the aid of the Government, and were subjected to shameful hardship and discomfort.

The armistice put a "stop order" on most of these great schemes. Only those were continued which were so far advanced that great loss would be incurred by stopping. Yet the nation needed, and still needs, all the permanent and better housing planned, and much more. Congress, recovering from its submissive attitude, has been indulging in a riot of reaction, an orgy of "investiga-

tion". No spirited and honest worker who threw himself into the effort to back up the fighting front with the materials toward victory is safe from aspersion, suspicion, innuendo, and from a sad loss of time spent in attending "hearings."

But a fine persistence in the face of this Congressional assault has held some of the enterprises to completion and occupancy. The Government Hotels in Washington are operating to the advantage of the nation. The notable villages in the Philadelphia ship-building radius at Buckman (near Chester) and at Yorkship (near Camden) will remain as examples to be emulated to immense advantage, unless greed and folly prevail to prevent. Other enterprises all over the nation have left some vitality of worth-while accomplishment in social advance.

It is in point to say that the total expenditure for permanent housing—less than \$150,000,000—is less than the cost of two days of fighting on the western war front.

The vast mass of detailed information upon the housing problems of America, the notable plans worked out for meeting the varied needs of varied locations, the engineering discoveries made possible in eighteen months of intensive work of the best constructive brains of the nation—all these data are now in danger of being junked and lost. With the closing down of actual operations, the accumulated experience, plans, documents, etc., will either be destroyed or made inaccessible, unless Congress acts quickly.

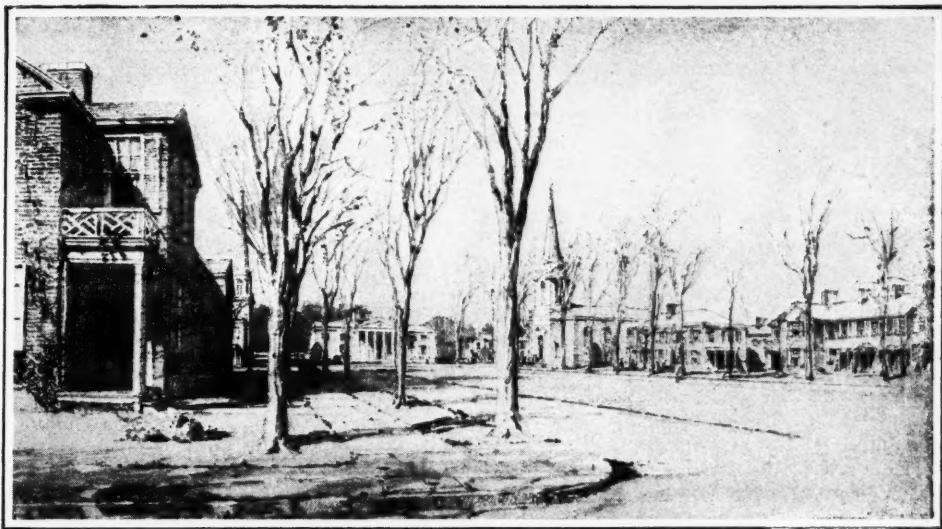
So the question is asked, "What About the Government's War Housing?" The answer that needs to be made is that the houses and

communities built should be retained in some proper control until this great experiment in human welfare can be worked out. The priceless information gathered ought to be united under one control, classified and made available to a home-hungry country. A continuing study should be made in housing, home financing, industrial living conditions, and in the efficiency of the methods proposed; for surely the half of our population living in cities is entitled to a modicum of the helpful federal attention long and properly given the farmer and his industry!

Such is the purpose of a bill introduced in the Federal House by Representative George Holden Tinkham of Massachusetts, and now in the hands of the House Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds. It proposes to establish in the Department of Labor a Bureau of Housing and Living Conditions, charged with the custody and dissemination of the war-housing data, and with the duty of conducting further research in the field of industrial housing and the living conditions surrounding the workers of the land. If it prevails, there will be set up a potent barrier against the "Red" influence of bad housing. The cost would be annually less than one per cent. of that of the war vessels annually junked at one navy yard alone, without comment or complaint. This House Bill 7014 would set on foot agencies to add immensely to the working efficiency and content of American artisans, and would provide a federal source of advanced information on home building and financing. It will not pass unless good citizens insist.



THE SQUARE IN YORKSHIP VILLAGE, AROUND WHICH ARE APARTMENTS AND STORES



THE COMMON IN YORKSHIP VILLAGE, WITH THE TWO WHITE COLONIAL CHURCHES

YORKSHIP VILLAGE

BY ELECTUS D. LITCHFIELD

IN Yorkship Village, at Camden, N. J., there is seen the physical embodiment of a vision. In the spring of 1918, when we were directed to plan and prepare for the erection of a town to contain eventually 2000 or more houses, Mr. Flannery of the Emergency Fleet Corporation and Mr. Eidlitz and Mr. Leland, his advisers—as well as Mr. Ackerman, later head of the Department of Design of the Housing Section of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, and the broad-minded officials of the New York Shipbuilding Corporation—saw even as we did the handwriting on the wall and felt the protents of the war after the war, of which to-day we hear the rumbling of the artillery.

The absolute necessity for the creation of shelter in which to house the thousands of additional workmen required to man the enlarged shipyards of the New York Shipbuilding Corporation at Camden, and to provide without delay the answer to Pershing's clarion call for ships and more ships, furnished the opportunity to create there an outpost of defense in the impending war against Bolshevism and industrial discontent.

An outstanding opportunity was presented for the Government to produce an industrial community which should be, as far as reasonable economy and the urgency of the case would permit, an example to private enterprise throughout the land; which would

show how, through providing proper homes for its employees, an industrial corporation could lay the foundation for a contented and efficient body of workers. It was to be a place where the worker and his family could be healthy, happy, and contented; a place where the harrassing strain of ill-health and mounting doctors bills might in great measure be eliminated; a place where the toil and drudgery of housekeeping should be reduced to its ultimate limit, and where in exchange there should be offered to the mother and her growing children new opportunities for education and development.

It was to be a place of light rooms and clean yards, with adequate playgrounds and amusement fields; a place of beauty and appropriateness and cleanliness so great that a man returning from his daily toil would receive new strength and recreation; a place where the man who could save a fraction of his income, would be able to obtain with it, for himself and for his children, a share of play and education, literature and music, and other uplifting things.

Finally, it was to afford the physical plant where the worker might quietly and in comfort discuss among his fellows the problems which affect him, thus developing a coöperation, a unity, and a community of spirit between himself and his fellow-workers, which would develop cordial relations between cap-

ital and labor in the industrial organization with which he is connected.

We did not expect to create a new Utopia—the realization of the fond dream of the philosophers of all ages—but we did hope to produce a community providing the opportunity for those things which are so often denied to the worker and which we all will agree are really essential for the development of a true American citizenship.

A Farm Becomes a Village

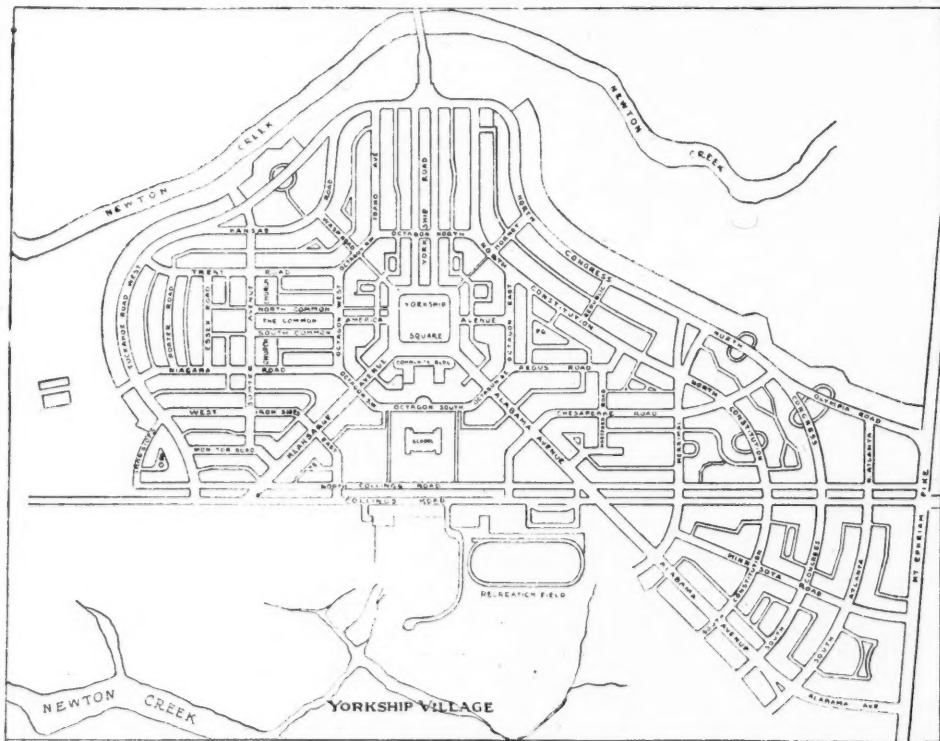
It is a few weeks less than eighteen months since the actual construction work was started at Yorkship Village, and not much more than twenty months since Chester Allen—of Lockwood, Green & Co., Engineers—walked over the Cooper Farm with me, and we selected it as the most available site for a village. Our dreams of what a town should be have merged so quickly into what it really is, that sometimes I feel as though double the time must have elapsed.

We have in the village to-day about 1,400 houses, with playgrounds and recreation fields. The houses have no dark rooms, and

they all have up-to-date sanitary and economic appliances for carrying on the domestic operations of the home. There are eight miles of streets paved with concrete, many square miles of lawn, twenty miles of fence and hedges, and well-established trees.

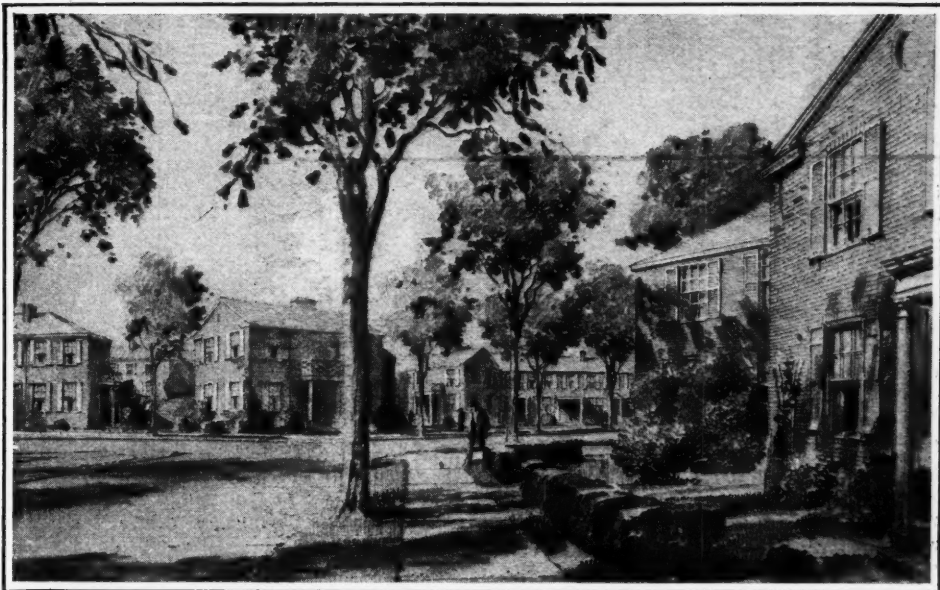
There still remains to be built the one building which should have first been erected: the commercial, amusement, and community center of this important town. Plans have been prepared, estimates have been obtained, and the money is available. From the appropriation of \$12,000,000,000 set aside for the creation of Yorkship Village, there will be turned back many hundreds of thousands of dollars; and while it may be that the instructions from Congress to the Emergency Fleet Corporation, to retire from the real-estate business, may prevent the erection of that building under Government auspices, sooner or later a way must be found to provide for its erection.

Let us hope that those in authority may not lose the picture of this as an outpost in our industrial defense, and count this potential community a mere group of houses to



THE STREET AND PARK PLAN OF YORKSHIP VILLAGE

(See also the airplane view of the Village, used as frontispiece in this number of the REVIEW)



A VIEW ON OCTAGON ROAD, ONE OF THE FEATURES OF YORKSHIP VILLAGE
(The combination of straight and winding streets furnishes many interesting views)

be disposed of to the highest bidder, and thus throw away a great opportunity to show the country what an industrial community should be.

The theory of the Yorkship town plan is that the amusement and commercial features of the village should be concentrated on the Public Square, and that therefore all roads should lead directly there or to the shipyards. These elemental considerations, together with the contours and geographical limits of the town were responsible for the street plan of the village.

A Village for Sale!

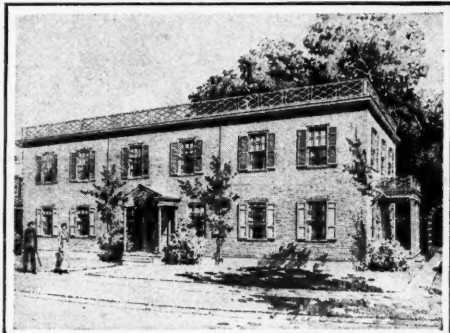
What plan shall be adopted for the future of the Village? It has been decreed that all Government housing must be sold. This place cannot be sold piecemeal. The usual rules for the disposal of real estate will not be applicable here. The integrity of Yorkship Village must be maintained. Congress does not direct how the houses shall be sold, or to whom.

There are two plans for the sale of Yorkship, which are practical and reasonable. One is that it be sold directly to the New York Shipbuilding Corporation, which may then operate it as a company-owned town or in any other fashion it may elect. Or, the Village may be sold directly to a Yorkship Village Company, which will operate it for,

and sell it to, its inhabitants—not piecemeal, but as a whole.

With the assistance of Mr. Thomas Adams, Housing Advisor to the Canadian Government, and Mr. Lawson Purdy of New York, we have prepared for the New York Shipbuilding Corporation a plan for partner ownership of the Village, which we hope some day will be realized. It provides in the main that the Government and the Shipbuilding Corporation shall agree to a normal rental value of the town and that its present capital value be determined by working back from this total of rentals at a 12 per cent. basis; and that the difference between the capital value and the actual expenditure be written off as a war loss.

The plan provides that the Yorkship Village Company shall be a copartnership organization. The tenant will not become the owner in fee of the definite house in which he lives; but the occupancy thereof will be secured to him, at the rental fixed, except for non-payment of rent or acts or defaults of his tending to serious detriment of the property. In lieu of acquiring the deed to a particular house, he pays a given amount of capital into the company. In other words, members of the company collectively own all of the real property of the village. No member will be able to say "This house is mine;" but they all can say "These houses are ours."



TWO TYPES OF THREE-FAMILY HOUSES IN YORKSHIP VILLAGE

(Each house has a separate entrance—with living room, dining room and kitchen downstairs, and three bedrooms upstairs)

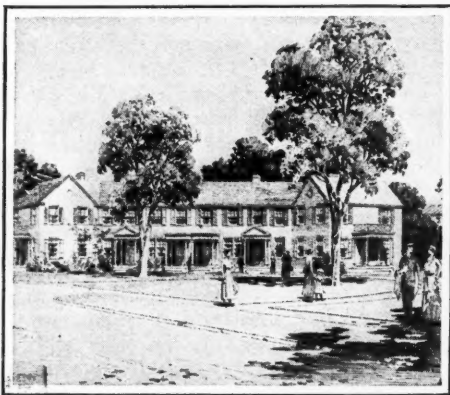
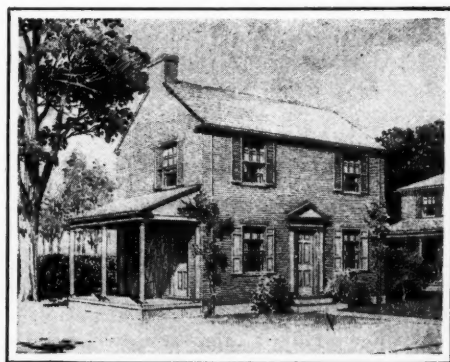
The rentals being based at 12 per cent. of the capital value of the property, which is the percentage counted as reasonable among speculative builders in Philadelphia, it is obvious that under proper management each renter will be paying a sufficient amount to pay to the Government $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon its mortgage and 2 per cent. on the total face of this sum in amortization of it, together with $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the capital value of the property for taxes, maintenance and operation, and surplus. How much this surplus will be will depend upon the care which the tenants take of the property, the percentage of vacancies, and the efficiency of the management.

There should be from the start a possible payment of dividend upon the rental. As the Government loan is amortized the tenant acquires a corresponding amount of stock; and when his stockholdings equal the value of the house his dividends, which until then are paid in stock, will be paid in cash. The

dividend upon the stock will be limited to 5 per cent. or 6 per cent., and as eventually the town will own itself by retiring the Government mortgage, there will ultimately be an excess income over and above this interest and the sums required for maintenance, taxes, etc., which must be expended for the benefit of the village in extensions or improvements of its equipment and advantages.

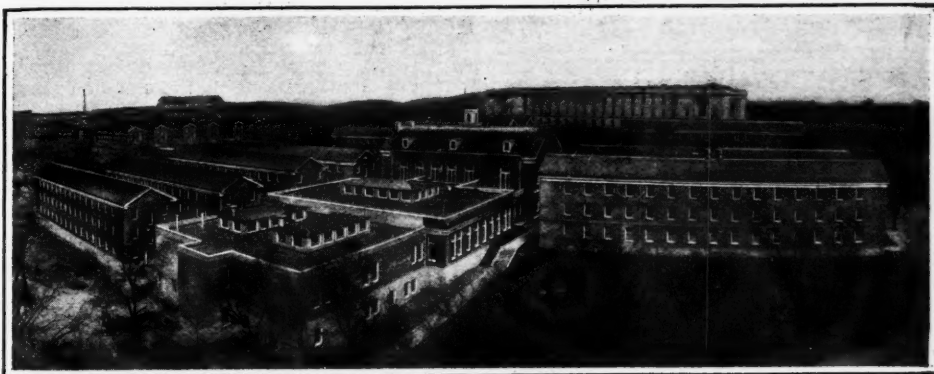
There is no other village in this country where exactly this plan of operation has been used, but it is a brave man who will say to-day that anything is impossible. Indeed, at Yorkship again and again it was the impossible which we had to accomplish.

Coöperation is the watchword of the day—coöperation and, let us hope, conciliation. Those of us who have planned Yorkship Village believe that if this method of operation (or one akin to it) may be adopted, Yorkville Village will be not only an influence for good in the New York Shipyard, but an example to the whole industrial world.

A SIX-FAMILY ROW OF HOUSES
(With four and five rooms in each)

A ONE-FAMILY DETACHED HOUSE

(With combined kitchen and dining room at the left, living room at the right downstairs, and two bedrooms and bath upstairs. Main entrance at left)



THE GOVERNMENT HOTELS IN WASHINGTON, BETWEEN THE UNION STATION PLAZA AND THE CAPITOL

(Providing rooms and meals for two thousand women employees of the Government. There are twelve residence halls, with 162 beds in each, besides various administration buildings)

THE GOVERNMENT HOTELS FOR WOMEN

BY HARLEAN JAMES

DURING the first few months of the war, Washington passed through successive stages of "saturation" which from filling houses already in commission progressed to making use of habitable homes and finally to the repairing of houses long since discarded. Following the ancient law of supply and demand the prices of houses and rooms increased as available living space diminished.

This process bore heavily on the thousands of government employees who had been brought from their homes in all parts of the country to do their share toward winning the war, and difficulties were especially great for young and inexperienced girls who accepted positions at \$1000 and \$1100 a year, never dreaming that such a sum would fail to pay expenses.

Besides suffering from indecent overcrowding of rooms, lack of sanitary conveniences, uncleanness and exorbitant prices for quarters, many young women with healthy appetites actually went hungry from meal to meal because the day's allowance for food simply would not cover three hearty meals. Of course, many of these employees had never lived away from homes where there were bountiful tables of home-cooked food, and consequently they did not know how to order to the best advantage in the restaurants and cafeterias in which most of them were obliged to eat. But anyone who

tried for \$1.50 to order enough food to repair the wear and tear of a war worker's day found it a heavy tax on ingenuity. It does not take higher mathematics to figure that \$20 to \$30 for part of a room, \$45 for board and \$3 to \$5 for carfare will not leave much out of the \$83.33 a month which is exactly one-twelfth of \$1000.

It became increasingly difficult to secure meals in private families and boarding houses as the scarcity and cost of service, the high prices and regulation of food made it impossible to produce regulation meals for any price the war workers could afford.

Many war workers rose at 6 A. M. in order to reach the bathroom before the dozen others who had an equal claim on its rather precarious supply of hot water, or they were obliged to spend precious minutes waiting in hallways at a door which seemed perpetually closed and locked. The combing of hair was a dreaded operation when two other faces already filled the one small mirror available. The securing of clean clothes meant a large weekly outlay or a laundry bee at night with damp garments hanging over chair backs in the sleeping room and a hurried pressing out on the floor in the morning if the electric iron could be locked securely from the prying eyes of the vigilant landlady. Some girls sent laundry home and at least one hard-pressed war worker sent laundry to California by parcels post to

avoid the Washington laundry prices and the slow service.

What wonder if, after a tedious delay in finding foot-room on the crowded street cars, after a vigorous pommelling of sharp elbows in ribs which covered an empty stomach, and after a weary line-up for a cafeteria breakfast of coffee, cereal and cornbread which cost from 25 to 40 cents, the war worker arrived at her office at 8, 8:30 or 9, very poorly fitted to give her harassed superiors the service which they needed so sorely?

Built by the U. S. Housing Corporation

It was this situation that the Government Hotels were designed to remedy. Authorized and built by the U. S. Housing Corporation as a war measure, the cost for buildings, furnishings and equipment comes to \$2,432,000, or a per capita cost of about \$1250 for the 1950 beds provided. There are twelve residence halls, two administration buildings with modern dining rooms and kitchens, a recreation hall, an infirmary, a heating plant, a laundry, a refrigeration plant, with electrical, carpenter and plumbing shops, a garage and store room.

The gray stucco buildings of colonial type are set in fifteen acres of government ground which, lying between the Union Station Plaza and the Capitol, have been an eyesore for years. Already the clinging ivy, the stretch of greensward, the clumps of shrubs and the hedge rows are giving an appearance of permanence. The land, however, is dedicated to park purposes and manifestly the life of the Government Hotels is limited. The park plan should be carried to completion; but so long as Washington cannot offer adequate food and quarters to government

employees and so long as the cost of upkeep is not prohibitive there is much to be said for the continuance of the hotels.

What then, since at best the project cannot be considered permanent, is it the aim to accomplish during the short time of its existence? It is to show that the Government should enter into vaster and more permanent enterprises to house its employees? Is it to encourage states and municipalities to build hotels? Is it to subsidize a limited number of federal workers? Is it an experiment in coöperative management?

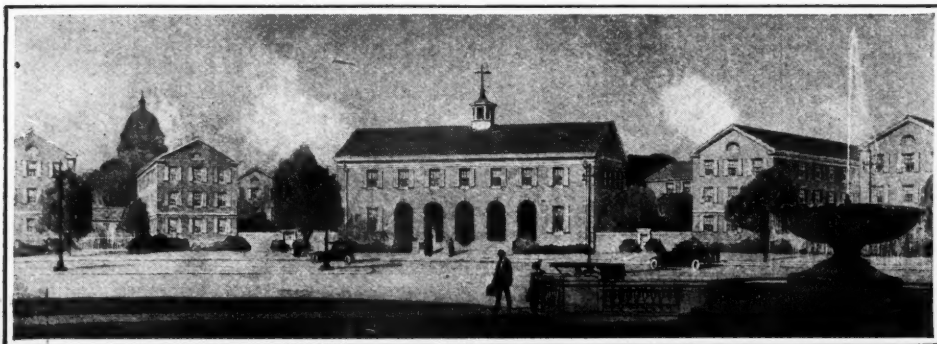
An American-Plan Hotel for Women

It has not seemed to the present management that the main purpose is any of these. The central staff holds the aim before it to demonstrate that government workers may be so housed, so provided with those necessities of good health, fresh air, bath facilities, comfortable beds, wholesome balanced diet, physical exercise, recreation and early dispensary attention to colds and threatened illness that they are kept in good condition to do the day's work for the government and to profit by the mental, spiritual and artistic advantages which the city of Washington offers to its residents. The staff has set itself the task to see that this service is rendered at a minimum of cost with as little wastage as possible, and that the Hotels shall continue to be, as they are now, entirely self-supporting.

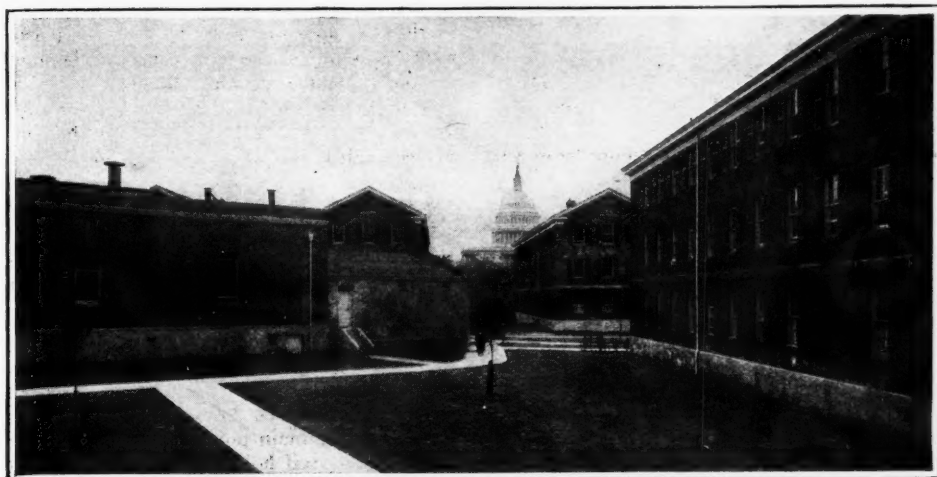
Before setting forth a detailed description of the service let us review the obstacles to accomplishment.

Administrative Difficulties

In the first place the buildings are conspicuously under the eyes of the Capitol;



STEPPING FROM THE UNION STATION, THE VISITOR'S FIRST GLIMPSE OF WASHINGTON IS THAT OF THE GOVERNMENT HOTELS, WITH THE CAPITOL DOME IN THE DISTANCE



© Harris & Ewing, Washington

ONE OF MANY COURTYARDS, WITH RESIDENCE HALLS AT THE RIGHT, A KITCHEN AT THE LEFT, AND THE CAPITOL DOME IN THE DISTANCE

and the duly elected representatives of the American people are not by tradition advocates of paternal federal enterprises nor of subsidies to special classes. Many members of the national legislature would be thankful to see the buildings razed and the United States Treasury pocket once for all its war loss of two and a half millions. And there stand commercial vultures ready to bid in the mechanical equipment and furniture at low rates, should the Government abandon the project while yet the paint is new.

Several moves have been made on the part of those "on the hill" to close the hotels, but these have been met with such a storm of protest from the war workers and from the leading women of the country that the operation of the Hotels has continued, though always under the disadvantages attendant upon threatened abandonment.

The second difficulty lies in the inherent difference in standpoint of landlord and tenant aggravated by the custom of appeal to a long line of executive representatives which does not stop short of the President and to the entire Congress of the United States.

Samuel Blythe has divided all men (and presumably women) into two classes—those who believe they could run the railroads better than they are run, and those who know that they could manage the hotels better than they are managed. Of course the railroad business is extremely technical and the hotel business requires a medley of specialists.

In the present enterprise, the largest American-plan hotel in the world has opened

and continues to operate in the face of administrative obstacles that often baffle the staff of specialists; and yet to the casual observer it seems a mere question of everyday housekeeping—the housekeeping which appears to the consumer so simple and to the producer so complex whether it be for a family of five or five hundred.

The two thousand women who live in the Government Hotels are homogeneous only in the fact that they are all employed by the federal government. They are of all ages, of all grades of experience, from all parts of the country, with diverse habits of life and divergent desires in food. Some come from sheltered communities and others from free business life.

And because the enterprise is new, because it has not yet "found itself," the women workers have gone to their patient Congressmen with their personal objections and Congress, being besieged with petty details, has been inclined to wash its hands of the whole troublesome business and declare the experiment a failure.

The third difficulty of government operation of the hotels lies in the delays and expense involved in conforming to government red tape. The Government Hotels are not permitted to use their revenues. Since June 30, 1919, these are deposited in the Treasury of the United States and all expenditures are required to be made under the General Schedule of Supplies, a portly volume prepared by the General Supply Committee for the use of Executive Departments and the

use of which in a hotel which operates twenty-four hours a day, 365 days in the year, is as conducive to prompt action as the use of a dictionary for each word of a composition.

In spite of these administrative difficulties, every room in the hotels is filled and there is a waiting list of twelve hundred!

In general any government employee who can find a vacancy may live in the Hotels. There are few rules—only those limitations and inhibitions which it is necessary to observe when two thousand persons live in close quarters. It is true that some women are not constituted to live comfortably in community life, and, after a trial, these are advised to find quieter quarters or living accommodations offering greater privacy. The Government Hotels are not planned for special service. They are suitable only for those who are willing to accept what can be given to all and cheerfully to deny themselves what may not be granted to all.

Exactly what may a resident, who has been assigned to a room expect to receive from the Government Hotels?

The Dining Service

First, in the dining room, the meal plan is American family, with a choice of two meats for breakfast and dinner. Eggs are served as guests request, and with these exceptions the meals are standardized. These are recent menus:

Breakfast
 Fresh Apples
 Farina Cold Cereals
 Panned Fish Bacon and Eggs
 Graham Muffins Toast
 Coffee Cocoa Milk

Dinner
 Bisque of Oyster Soup
 Baked Salmon, Sauce Tartar
 Potatoes au Gratin
 Roast Beef, Spinach
 Tomato and Cheese Salad
 Pumpkin Pie
 Coffee Tea Milk

Breakfast
 Canned Peaches
 Wheatena Cold Cereals
 Corned Beef Hash Bacon and Eggs
 Corn Meal Muffins Toast
 Coffee Tea Milk

Dinner
 Mock Turtle Soup
 Chicken, a la King
 Mashed Potatoes Hubbard Squash
 Combination Salad
 Cream Puffs
 Coffee Tea Milk

Breakfast
 Fresh Pears
 Pettijohn Cold Cereals
 Veal Livers Bacon and Eggs
 Biscuit Toast Honey
 Coffee Cocoa Milk

Dinner
 Chicken Soup, Noodles
 Tenderloin Steak
 French Fried Potatoes Fresh Scalloped Tomatoes
 Asparagus Salad, Mayonnaise
 Currant Jelly Olives
 Chocolate Ice Cream Iced Cake
 Coffee Tea Milk

Meal hours are from 7 to 8:30 A. M. and from 5:30 to 7 P. M. on week days and from 8 to 10 A. M. and 1 to 3 P. M. on Sundays.

As there are 1068 seats and nearly 2000 guests, most of the tables are filled twice.



(C) Harris & Ewing, Washington

ONE OF THE TWO DINING ROOMS IN EACH RESIDENCE HALL

(Two meals are served each day, to two thousand guests. Standardized meals are served. Note the general atmosphere of comfort and cleanliness)



U.S. HARRIS & EDWING, Washington

SOME OF THE WAITRESSES WHO SERVE WOMEN GUESTS AT THE GOVERNMENT HOTELS

This means that residents are shown to seats by captains as in any other hotel dining room.

For breakfast the fruit is found on the table, the cereal and main breakfast are served in two courses. Coffee is brought on in large metal pots which are left on the table. This gives a second cup or that valued last hot portion which is so comforting to coffee lovers. Toast, rolls, butter, milk and cream are not limited.

At dinner, as soon as anyone is seated at a waitress' table she starts to the kitchen for her six plates of soup, as the captain will plan to have her table filled by the time she returns. The meats and vegetables are then served, orders for choice in drinks taken, followed by salad and dessert.

The tables, each of which seats six, are covered with white cotton cloths and set up attractively in white porcelain and plainly designed silver.

Features of the Residence Halls

In the residence halls a guest may find a welcome light until eleven at night. She is not met by a forbidding hallway but must pass through a hospitable lobby with comfortable lounge chairs. In each lobby is a small hotel desk where she may claim her key, find her mail and receive any messages. Once in her room visitors and telephone calls are announced by a buzzer from the House desk.

If she comes in after eleven at night there is the night watch woman to admit her without delay or question. When she sleeps she is guarded against danger of fire or trespass.

Needed repairs will be looked after if she reports them to the house manager. If she cares for a reading lamp the hotel electrician will make the proper connections for it.

If she cares to wash her own clothes she may do so in the basement laundry and may attach her iron to the connections there provided. She may send her clothes to the Hotels laundry where she may have them rough-dried for a small price or finished at prices from 25 to 50 per cent less than in commercial establishments.

If she cares to cook something for a "spread" or for a sick friend, she may use the kitchenette.

If she falls ill the nurse from the infirmary will call upon her. The house manager will see that she is sent her meals. If she needs special treatment and still is not ill enough to go to a hospital she may be received at the infirmary. If she cuts her finger, contracts a sore throat, burns her hands, needs a dose of any household remedy, she may call at the dispensary and be "fixed up" with a very strong chance that serious consequences will be avoided.

With the exception of the corner rooms, all bedrooms are single and a resident may



ONE OF THE CORNER ROOMS, FOR TWO GUESTS

(Each occupant has a separate dresser and bed. All but the corner rooms are single, and much preferred by the guests)

claim companionship in the lobbies but find absolute privacy in her own room. She may find hot bath water night or day. There is running water in her room. She may find cold drinking water in her corridor.

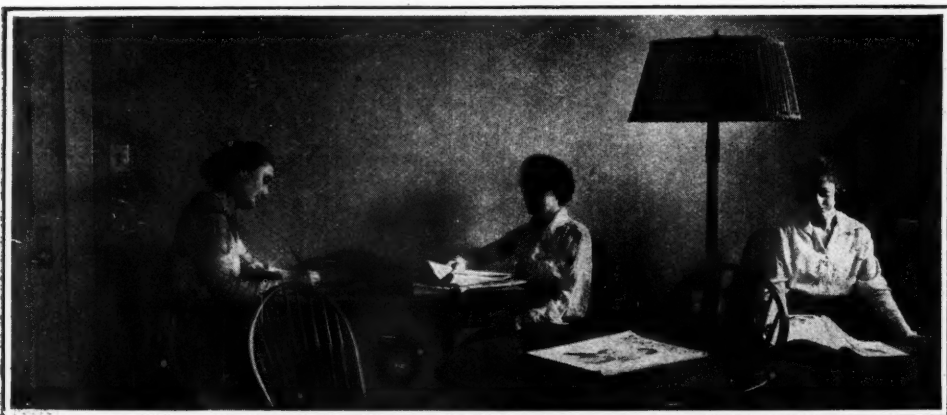
There is always some one on duty to call in case she needs assistance of any kind. The corridors are patrolled at night by watchwomen who will render assistance in any emergency.

She may invite unlimited company for meals without notice to the cook. She may arrange for a reserved table for a dinner party in a few minutes.

For a fee of \$2 a month or \$5 for three months' tuition, she may enter recreation classes three nights a week and keep in fit con-

tion to carry on her sedentary occupation.

For these services the residents of the Government Hotels pay \$45 a month. No rental or interest on the cost of buildings is charged, but a moderate reserve for replacements is made. Beyond the war contribution of the plant itself, the taxpayers are not being called upon for a cent to operate these Hotels. The appropriation of Congress is made from the revenues of the Hotels deposited in the Treasury of the United States. In the month of July the \$45 was spent as follows: Dormitories, \$8.42; restaurants, \$31.81; infirmary, 27 cents; shop, 66 cents; fire protection, 47 cents; telephone, 42 cents; general office, \$2.63; insurance, 32 cents.



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ONE OF THE WRITING AND READING ROOMS, THERE BEING TWO IN EACH OF THE TWELVE RESIDENCE BUILDINGS

JUSTICE BRANDEIS IN PALESTINE

BY WILLIAM E. SMYTHE

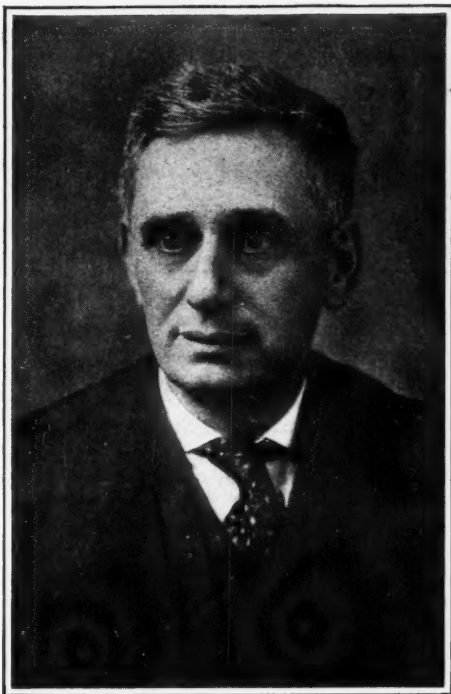
Nine years ago the New York garment trade was involved in what seemed a hopeless impasse between labor and capital. Hours, wages, sanitary conditions, and above all, the open or the closed shop—these were the issues. The strikers had been out for months with no improvement in the situation. The matter had risen to national importance because of its effect on general business. Some 250,000 men, women and children were upon the verge of starvation.

Something had to be done, and finally the contending sides agreed on one proposition: That Louis D. Brandeis of Boston should be summoned and asked to try to find the way out. What followed makes one of the brightest pages in our industrial history, for peace came in place of war, harmony in place of discord, and there was born an institution which might well become the object of study for future industrial conferences—the Preferential Union Shop.

That, however, is no part of the present story, except the fact that if Mr. Brandeis had never been called upon to settle the strike of the garment workers there probably would have been no occasion for writing this article. At that time he was a lawyer in private practice, yet with a great place in American public life. He was "the People's Lawyer," cheerfully serving unpopular causes, and forever turning up in court and at legislative hearings with a vigor and pertinacity that was most exasperating, and often embarrassing, to certain powerful interests represented by high-priced attorneys.

Until he tackled this job in New York Mr. Brandeis was almost entirely devoid of race consciousness. He was a Jew, but of an old American family long settled in Kentucky. He enjoyed a liberal education, graduated at Harvard Law School, and entered almost immediately upon a practice which took him into the world of large affairs. In such associations he probably never would have encountered the Jewish Problem.

But when he turned to the study of the garment-workers' strike he entered a new



© Clinedinst, Washington

HON. LOUIS D. BRANDEIS

(Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court)

and different world. There are about three million Jews in the United States and more than a million of them live and work in New York City. Mr. Brandeis lived in the midst of them for several weeks and applied his great capacity for analysis to their situation. He soon found himself interested not only in their social and economic condition as part of the mass of toilers, but in their singular racial isolation. A people without a home on the face of the earth—a people who filled a great place in human history and who were the spiritual forebears of half the world—such a people an outcast race! And he was himself of that race! His pride was aroused, his sympathies deeply touched, and the vision of Theodor Herzl became his vision.



PANORAMIC VIEW OF THE CITY OF JERUSALEM AND

What Zionism Is and Is Not

All this happened before Louis D. Brandeis had ascended to his present place as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. He was at perfect liberty to fight for his ideals, and he immediately voiced his new-found faith in Zionism in a way that challenged widest public attention. "How can we secure for Jews, wherever they may live, the same rights and opportunities enjoyed by non-Jews?" he asked. "How can we secure for the world the full contribution which Jews can make, if unhampered by artificial limitations?" And he answered his own questions as follows:

"Make Palestine once more the home of the Jewish nation. Let Jewish civilization—its industries, its arts, its schools, its culture, its language and its religion—be rooted deeply in its own native and historic soil. There, and there only, can Jewish life be fully protected from the forces of disintegration; and there, alone, can the Jewish spirit reach its full and natural development."

He insisted that nationality was absolutely essential to the complete restoration of the Jewish race to its lost place in the world. "Nationality, like democracy, has been one of the potent forces making for man's advance during the past hundred years," he declared. "The assertion of nationality has infused whole peoples with hope, manhood and self-respect. It has ennobled and made purposeful millions of lives. It offered them a future, and in doing so revived all that was valuable in their past."

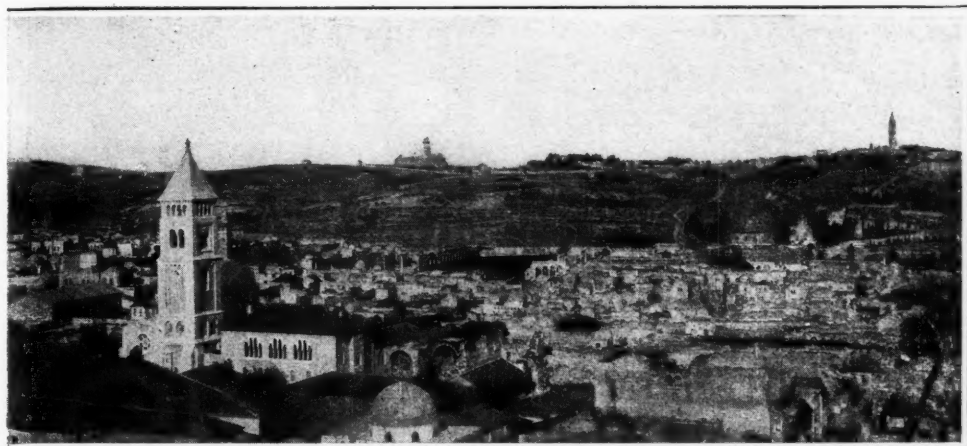
Zionism is, then, a spiritual entity, with

its feet on the good Palestinian earth, but with its influence diffused like the atmosphere. There has never been any thought of herding the children of Israel from all parts of the world and sending them back to the Holy Land. Such a thing would be physically impossible, for one reason, and Palestine would scarcely contain them all if developed to the highest limit of its possibilities. There are 14,000,000 Jews in the world. From ten to twenty per cent of these, inhabiting the land, speaking the language, following the religious rites, and living the lives of their fathers, would satisfy all the hopes of Zionism. In the meantime, all other Jews would be expected to remain just as good citizens of their adopted countries as those of other races or nationalities.

The movement is strongly organized in all leading countries. The Zionist Organization of America, of which Justice Brandeis is honorary president, fills extensive quarters in two New York office buildings. Its national membership is distributed among 3,000 cities and towns, and covers the entire country. It is thoroughly organized into departments, which are again subdivided, so that every detail of the work is systematically covered. After inspecting its national headquarters, conversing with its managers, and observing the intense activity of its hundreds of clerks, one is not surprised to find that the movement is growing rapidly in membership and power, and that its financial balances make an excellent showing.

The Leader Visits Palestine

Until the summer of 1919 Justice Brandeis had never set eyes on Palestine. Re-



THE MOUNT OF OLIVES, AS SEEN FROM DAVID'S TOWER

membering the glories of his race and land thousands of years before the beginning of the Christian era, the final expulsion in 79 A. D., and all the tragedies suffered by the Jewish people in and out of Palestine in subsequent centuries, yet filled with the great dream of the coming restoration, and the glory that is to be—with what feelings must the leader of Zionism in America have gone forth to the Holy Land last June!

He entered Palestine from Port Said on the military railroad constructed by the British during the War, following upon the trail of General Allenby in his conquest of Jerusalem. He was everywhere received with the honor befitting his high station in public life, as well as one of the world's leading Zionists.

Soon after his arrival in Jerusalem he ascended the Mount of Olives and took his station in a tower of rather hideous architecture, erected by Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany on his visit in 1908. It is really a monument to the lost cause—"Berlin to Bagdad." It was, however, a good point of observation. The atmosphere of Palestine is so clear, and the heights so commanding, that from many points one gets an unobstructed view of nearly the entire country.

A few miles south lay Bethlehem; a little beyond it, the deep blue of the Dead Sea; to the southeast, the green valley of the Jordan, flowing down from the Sea of Galilee. Far to the north, Mt. Hebron and Mt. Lebanon, and on the west a broad expanse of shining waters—the Mediterranean. With deep emotion he gazed upon these historic scenes, then turned and exclaimed to his companion: "What a lovable land!"

And in this fervent exclamation he spoke for all Zionism, and for Christendom, as well.

Justice Brandeis is known among his friends as a glutton for details. He wants all of the facts, and has a way of getting them at first hand whenever that is possible. Furthermore, he puts efficiency before style. Hence, no one should be surprised that his weeks in Palestine were chiefly spent in a Ford, both night and day. He went over the country from end to end, studying both its town and rural life; its physical resources and the possibilities of future development. Naturally he did not overlook the historic scenes and monuments so closely interwoven with the experience of his own people; and, indeed, of all civilization. What he saw is precisely what any other traveler would see in the course of the same journey.

Like Our Arid America

In climate and topography Palestine is very similar to that portion of the United States which is both semi-arid and semi-tropical—southwestern Arizona and southern California. That is only another way of saying that Palestine is the making of one of the most delightful spots on the face of God's earth, "a land flowing with milk and honey" in the literal sense. To those who understand its spiritual significance, irrigation is a form of prayer. It is thus that they "pray for rain" in the Land of Israel and know that their prayers will be answered with scientific precision. They know, too, that the moisture will fall just when and where it is wanted with due regard to the varying needs of different crops. By the same token, they know they possess the first



A MODERN JEWISH KINDERGARTEN IN JERUSALEM

requisite of intensive cultivation which carries with it the possibility of closely-settled neighborhoods and high social organization.

Right here we find the key to the civilization which is coming back to Palestine. Its dominant note will be coöperative, since men must work together in developing and distributing water. Its farms will be small because the amount of the available water supply rather than of land is the measure of its possible expansion, and water is relatively less abundant than land. Such conditions make strongly against private or monopolistic control, and in favor of fundamental democracy.

Polity of the New Palestine

Consciously or unconsciously, Zionists are aiming to shape their new institutions to fit the peculiar environment of the country. The ideals of the American leaders are set forth in what is known as the Pittsburgh Program, which includes the following:

To insure in the Jewish national home in Palestine equality of opportunity, we favor a policy which, with due regard to existing rights, shall tend to establish the ownership and control of the land and of all the natural resources, and of all public utilities, by the whole people.

All land, owned or controlled by the whole people, should be leased on such conditions as will insure the fullest opportunity for development and continuity of possession.

It should be explained that the lease is to be hereditary, so that it may pass from father to children or other heirs, and that every provision is made to protect the land-

user in the secure possession of what he creates by means of his own labor and investment. Ground values will be reappraised at stated intervals with a view of making the rental such as to compensate society for whatever portion of the new value may be due to increased population or general activities. The method differs somewhat from that of the single tax, but the result aimed at is precisely the same.

There will be no Established Church in the Holy Land, and no restrictions against women in political or other rights. Every possible provision is made for the encouragement of coöperative business and social arrangements in all departments of life. Free public education is provided, and the strongest possible safeguards erected to preserve the revived Hebrew tongue as the language of the people forever.

The Zionist Colonies

The first impulse of modern colonization in Palestine which may be said to have any logical relation to the Zionist movement was felt between 1875 and 1880 in consequence of intense persecution suffered in Russia and Roumania. Most of the Jews who fled from their tormentors at that time went to Western Europe or America, but a few young intellectuals turned toward the land of their fathers and obtained a feeble foothold upon its soil.

A strong movement of refugees began in 1882 and has gone on continuously ever

since, largely aided by philanthropic members of the race. To-day there are over forty colonies, mostly located on the Maritime Plain, which includes Philistia, the Plains of Sharon, Mt. Carmel and Phoenicia. This plain is of remarkable fertility, and both its past history and its promise of future development make it a matter of peculiar interest to the world. In ancient times it was noted not merely for its soil, but as a great route from the North into Egypt. The hosts of forgotten nations rolled through this land of the Philistines on their way to the granary of the Nile.

Judea is a stony plateau, wholly without running water, yet capable of producing olives and light crops of grain, especially barley. In ancient times it was a land of flocks and herds, but this industry would not be suited to the new plans of intensive development.

The hills of Galilee are interspersed with fertile valleys once thickly populated and likely to be again. To the east, the hills of Galilee, of Samaria, and of Judea fall rapidly into the Jordan Valley, which has been denominated "the deepest trench on the surface of the earth," the Dead Sea being nearly 1,300 feet below sea level.

The storied Jordan River, flowing south, divides Palestine almost in the middle, and practically all historical association, population and development lie on the west side of the Jordan. There are, however, great possibilities "over Jordan" which are likely



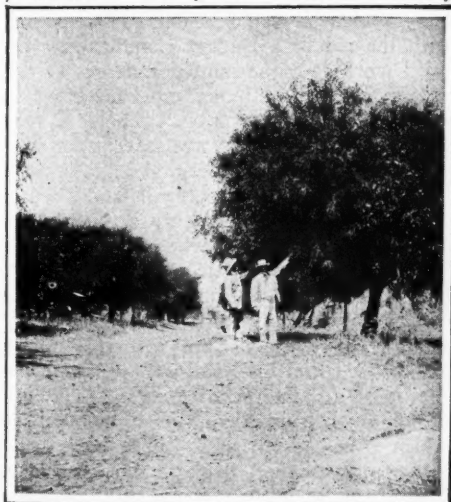
JUSTICE BRANDEIS WITH A ZIONIST FAMILY FROM ST. LOUIS

to be realized during the next few years in connection with the constructive era now at hand. Both the northern and eastern boundaries of Palestine are indefinite at present. Future adjustments might readily double its territory.

Elements of Population

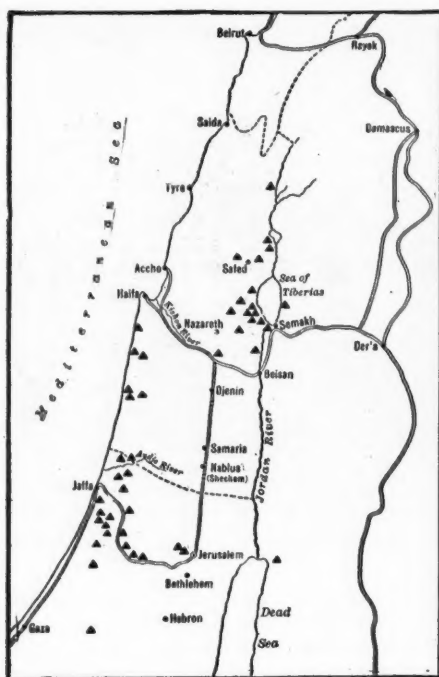
In the absence of a good census one guesses at the population of Palestine with such light as it is possible to get from conflicting authorities. The total is probably around 750,000 at this time, of which it is likely that fifteen to twenty per cent are Jews. Of these, perhaps 12,000 to 15,000 live in agricultural colonies, and the rest in about thirty towns, of which Jerusalem is much the largest. The Moslem element still greatly predominates, but the Jews are gaining much faster. Thus between 1880 and 1910 they scored an increase of 280 per cent against 40 per cent for the general population. The Christians are well represented also and probably have about the same number as the Jews.

It is not possible to say how many Americans are represented in the new Zionist settlements, but the movement in this country is energetic and well organized. A very useful instrument of colonization is the American Zion Commonwealth, virtually a department of the Zionist Organization of America, under the capable presidency of Mr. Bernard A. Rosenblatt. It was incorporated five years ago in accordance with



TREES PLANTED BY A ZIONIST COLONY SIX YEARS AGO

(Justice Brandeis is the man at the left)



THE ZIONIST COLONIES IN PALESTINE
(Indicated by black triangles)

New York laws, and has adopted plans which make it very easy for thrifty men and women to become interested in the soil of Palestine. The company purchases large tracts of land, subdivides and leases them in accordance with Zionist ideals of land-holding. It contemplates a program of town-planning and garden cities, as an important part of its activities, since it is not intended to send forth colonists to shift entirely for themselves. At least ten per cent of the lands are retained for public uses, which includes industrial purposes as well as sites for cities and villages. Profits derived from the leasing of these public lands will be divided among all residents of the American Zion Commonwealth territory. A careful survey has shown that fifty-five per cent. of the entire territory of Palestine is capable of cultivation, while only a little more than ten per cent is cultivated now; another twenty-five per cent. is well adapted to afforestation, so that in time fully eighty per cent of the country may be applied to useful purposes. Apparently, there are no serious obstacles in the way of a gradual expansion of Jewish ownership, without injury to other occupants, though the process may extend over three or four generations.

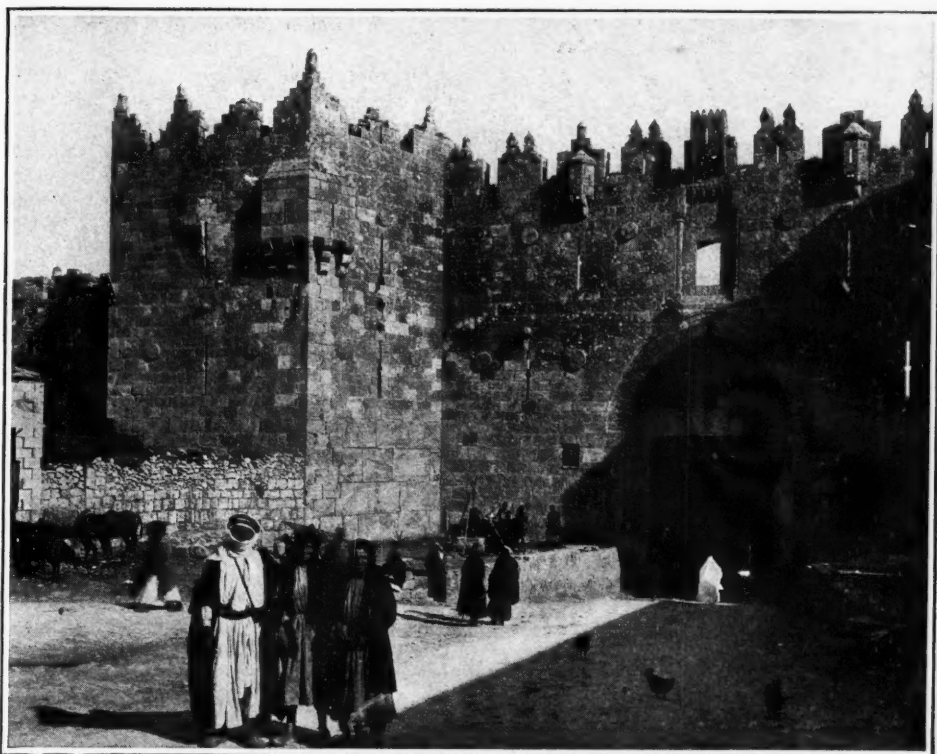
A Typical Village in Palestine

Zichron Jacob is typical of the life of all the Jewish colonies, except that being 37 years old, it has had a better chance to work out to final results. This village is situated on a hilltop, south of Mt. Carmel, overlooking the Mediterranean Sea on the west, and the mountains of Ephraim on the east. As far as the eye can see on every side stretch vineyards, orange groves, and waving fields of grain.

It is the custom in all the new villages of Palestine to assemble the homes along one main street, although Zichron Jacob has arrived at the dignity of two streets, crossing each other at right angles. The homes that illustrate the ideal of Zionist colonization—an ideal not generally attained as yet—are set in the midst of gardens of vegetables, fruit and flowers; they are built to suit the climate, with its constant glare of sun and high average temperature. Such homes have their interior courts and roof gardens to furnish artificial shade, for Palestine is mostly a treeless land. Good building stone is everywhere abundant, and this is the material of which many houses are built. They are neatly whitewashed, covered with red roofs, and present a most inviting appearance behind the line of mulberry and melia trees which have been planted along the street.

Zichron Jacob is governed by an unpaid village council, called the Vaad, elected annually by general assembly of all the people—women as well as men. This council, with the aid of a Budget Committee, carefully works out the annual expenses of the village, including all communal needs which are met by local taxation. There is very little use for a police force, except for protection against marauding Arabs, since a high degree of harmony prevails and disputes among neighbors are quickly settled by an arbitration committee, whose decisions are final. In fact, this little tribunal stands so high that the neighboring Arabs frequently submit their disputes to it for adjustment.

All the conditions are favorable for a delightful social life and the people make the most of the opportunity. They are proud of their park and its assembly hall, which is in constant use. They have many festivals, including that of harvest home. There are no great differences in worldly condition. There are no great changes in worldly condition. The people realize Solomon's prayer: "Give me neither riches nor poverty."



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THE DAMASCUS GATE, THE BEST PRESERVED SECTION OF THE OLD WALL OF JERUSALEM

Who can doubt that Zichron Jacob points the way for millions of devoted Hebrews, if at last the day has come when Palestine may live its own life and go its way in peace?

Behind the British Lion

"His Majesty's Government views with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this subject."

So said Mr. Arthur James Balfour, British Foreign Minister, in November, 1917. And all Zionism, including over 529,000 of its representatives in America, has petitioned the League of Nations to make England the mandatory power over Palestine. There can be little doubt that the prayer will be granted, and that after nearly two thousand years of oppression Israel will lift its head and stand erect, walking in the shadow of the British Lion.

The ideals of Zionism are intensely democratic. Its leaders appeal not to a few rich men, but to all who cherish the thought of restored nationality and respect. And their

support is coming largely from the multitude. Now that the Jewish homeland is assured, they ask that every Jew should do his part for the development of Palestine.

Significance for Christians

The Christian world can hardly be indifferent to the rehabilitation of the land that contains Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Jerusalem, the Mount of Olives, the Garden of Gethsemane, and the Hill of Calvary. While they are not asked to help in the restoration, Christians will inevitably share its benefits. For one thing, the country will become accessible and hospitable. For another, the language and customs of Bible days will live again, and this will go far to revive the psychology of the time in which Jesus walked the earth.

It requires little imagination to comprehend what Zionism means to Jews. Is it fantastic to indulge the hope that it may some time mean nearly as much to the Christian world which is seeking today, as never before, an economic interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount?



ARMED TURKISH GUARD SENT BY THE GOVERNOR OF SIVAS TO RECEIVE THE AMERICAN RELIEF PARTY

AN AMERICAN MISSION IN ASIA MINOR

BY MAJOR WILLIAM S. DODD, M. D., F. A. C. S.

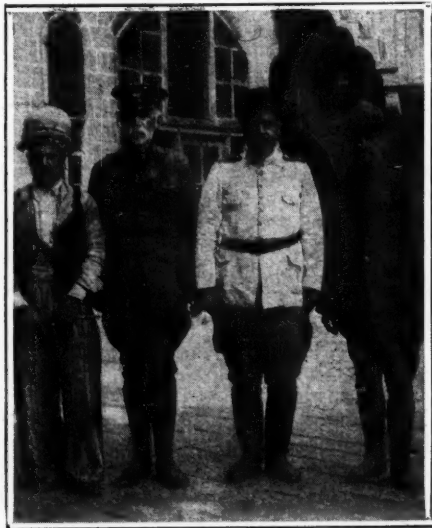
(Medical Director, American Red Cross Commission to Palestine)

THE eyes of America are turned to-day with new interest toward Asia Minor, land of many races, many religions, many sorrows and the land of great opportunity. Throughout its length and breadth American men and women have lived lives of service for a hundred years; in its hostile cities during the last three years scattered Americans, many of them women entirely alone, have held our relief to forlorn refugees; into its very heart Americans have pushed as fast as access was possible after the armistice; and across its eastern provinces from sea to sea Americans have made the first trip since the war.

The Red Cross Commission to Palestine had carried its relief work as far north as Aleppo, the great interior city of Turkey. Lying in the narrow region between the Mediterranean Sea and the Mesopotamian desert, Aleppo forms the neck of the hour-glass through which the deported Armenians from the provinces of Asia Minor were poured in 1915, and scattered to the deserts to die. Now the hour-glass is turned, and the survivors are coming back again in converging lines to Aleppo, thence seeking means of returning to their devastated homes.

The orphans and the women and girls

taken into Moslem houses form the two great problems on which the relief worker must fasten his attention. In Aleppo there is an orphanage with two thousand girls



OFFICIAL GROUP AT DIARBKIR

(From left to right: Kurdish Bey, Dr. James L. Barton, Turkish military commander, and Major Dodd, author of the accompanying article)



PASSENGERS HELPING TO LOCATE THE TRACK OF THE
BAGDAD RAILWAY

and boys, a camp orphanage for seven hundred and fifty boys, and many hundreds more ought to be taken in. Of the unfortunate women and girls who have been enslaved in Moslem houses, both Turkish and Arabic, there are estimated to be two thousand in the city alone, while the surrounding villages and towns have many more, and even from the tents of the desert we receive appeals daily for rescue. Conditions in Aleppo were but a sample of what was found in all the region south of the Taurus when the victorious British army came in. Here was the work to be done before the eyes of the Relief Commission.

But these people were not in their homes, not where they belonged. What was the condition of the region beyond the Turkish lines, not occupied by the British, the country from which these refugees had been driven? To go further into Turkey at that time was to go beyond the bounds of British control, into unknown conditions. At this point our Palestine Commission handed over the work, and many of its workers, to the Near-East Relief Commission.

Dr. James L. Barton, of Boston, who was head of this latter commission, felt that the investigation of the conditions of the interior was the first work to be done. It came on at once from Constantinople, and made up a party of five, of which I was the medical and Turkish-speaking member.

At the start we were met by a positive refusal of the British military to allow any relief expedition or workers to go into Tur-

key, beyond the effective occupation by British troops. Dr. Barton was not to be discouraged. He went directly to Cairo to lay the matter before General Allenby. Our ground was that we would be in no danger from the Turks, or Kurds, and would bring upon the British military authorities no perplexing problem of our rescue, and that investigation of relief needs was a prime requisite for the settlement of evil conditions.

Finally, on condition that we go on our own responsibility and take no guard, the desired permission was granted. Our judgment was proved correct by the trip.

We were not molested in any way, and on the contrary were treated almost as royal guests wherever we went.

Difficulties of Railroad Travel

We started on April 24, by the Bagdad Railway, crossing the Euphrates at Carchemish, the southern Hittite capital, whose great mound has already revealed some of its ancient secrets. Beside this ruined monument of a fallen empire stands another great monument, also of a fallen empire, but now serving the purposes of freedom and humanity, the great ten-span iron bridge across the Euphrates, built by the Germans during the war.

We had an ordinary box-car for our traveling, as no passenger cars were to be had. Every man had his bedding roll and his traveling bedstead, beside his suit-case, and these we set up in our car. With them we spent a most comfortable week. On two flat cars were loaded a two-ton truck and two Ford cars. The truck carried gasoline, more than a ton of it, for no supplies would be found along the way. The British authorities had taken over a part of the Bagdad railway and were running one or two trains a week, for they had no rolling stock to supply a regular service.

Arriving at Tel Abiad that night, we learned that the Turkish train, which was to meet us there, would not arrive for several days. We occupied the time by a side trip to Ourfa, where relief workers had already been sent, and returned to Tel Abiad.

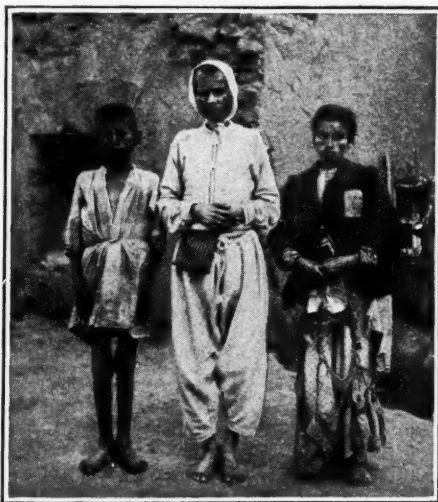
At last a train of freight cars appeared, of all kinds of varieties, loaded with demobilized Turkish troops, who were brought thus far on their journey home. After resting overnight, the men in charge of the engine, the only one left to the Turks on this railway, consented to add our little party to its empty train for the return trip. But it was a terrible struggle. The water-tank leaked, and when nearly empty the engine must needs leave the train and go on some miles to the next source of supply alone and come back for us. Wood was the fuel, and it was loaded on by hand, a stick at a time. The track was overgrown with grass two feet high, which crushed before the wheels and so greased the rails that progress was halted at times. We got out and pushed up the grades, getting off and on as we pleased. It was one of the most comfortable and joke-producing railway rides I have ever had. We went sixty miles in two days.

Journeying by Automobile

At Mardin we started our automobile journey. The fifty miles to Diarbekir we called a bad road at the time, with its stones and ruts and washouts, but later we looked back at it as part of our easy time. Diarbekir itself was worth the trip. It is the finest example of a medieval walled city that



"WITH A FEW EXCEPTIONS, WE FOUND ONLY WOMEN AND CHILDREN"



A PITIFUL REMNANT

I have ever seen. It is built on a bluff in a bend of the Tigris River guarded by solid stone walls, thirty feet high. Unlike most modern cities that have overflowed their ancient bounds, the entire city is still contained within the walls.

Travel over the ill-kept Turkish roads was by no means easy. Mud reduced our rate to even less than that of the Turkish engine—140 miles in four days, making only twenty-four miles one the those days. At times the roads were so cut by ruts, century-old and worn by ox-carts, or very new and gouged by German lorries in retreat, that the axle and differential dragged on the ground. Often when mud made the fields on each side an impossible resort we had to dig away the high center of the road before we could pass.

In such manner we covered a thousand miles, visiting Harpoot, Sivas, Cesarea, Marsovan, Amasia, and Tokat. At Samsoun, on the Black Sea, we were met by a United States destroyer, sent by Admiral Bristol from Constantinople, and at the rate of thirty-two miles an hour we made a record trip to the Turkish capital.

Throughout the region traversed, the provinces of Diabekir, Harpoot, Sivas, and Angora, we were impressed first of all by the extent of the destruction the Turks had visited upon their own land. In that eastern section, Armenia as a nation was swept away. With the exception of a few scattered men here and there, we found only women and children.

In Harpoot, in a congregation of twelve hundred people, less than forty were adult men. From that city the men had been taken out in batches and killed. Among all the thousands of refugees in Damascus and Aleppo, with all cities and towns of Turkey apparently represented, we had found scarcely any from Harpoot. Yet here a remnant was left, and survivors are now coming in from various regions and places of refuge.

The men saved are those in the southern zone where British occupation is effective, in the coast cities like Constantinople and Smyrna, and in the Caucasus; that is, all around Asia Minor, but not in the center of it. There are some exceptions, those who saved their lives by turning Moslem.

Destruction of property also was wholesale. At Oura the houses were completely torn down, after every member of the family had been killed, and the wreckage often carried away for firewood. The ruins, in many places, hardly even show in a picture. Where the Turks had taken over valuable Mission property, they left things in terrible condition.

In the Mission buildings, we found that the first work of renovation was to sweep out the piles of vermin which covered the walls, ceilings, and floors. The hospital cess-pool with its pipes and traps, had always worked well for us. Under the Turks it had become filled and choked and overflowed. They dug another beside it. That, too, overflowed. Still a third did no better. Then they concluded that the only way was to let it overflow, and have the sewage run on the surface of the street. That is Turkish hygienic sanitary engineering.

The Turkish Attitude

The Armenians generally were in a state of anxiety and fear. Oppression and injustice continued, reparation and restoration were still absent, murders of Armenians still occurred, and the murderers went free. The Turk is the same old Turk still.

We failed to find in any official the slightest sign of repentance, the least inclination toward acknowledgment of wrong having been done the Armenians. There were those who said it was a mistake. There were many members of the party opposed to the Young Turks, who disclaimed all responsibility. They put the blame on the former régime, even as that régime had put it back further on Abdul Hamid. There were many professions of intention to restore Ar-

menians to their homes; but except in obvious cases, perhaps where we stood by and might be impressed, nothing was done.

The general attitude among Turks was a determination to keep what they had been able to steal and a hope of doing it again if the opportunity offered. It was done in the city of Aleppo on February 28th, when massacre and looting began under the very eyes of the British. Eighty-five Armenians were killed and much property stolen before the troops could rush in and stop it. The same thing was planned for the cities of Konia, Adana, Homs, Hama, and elsewhere, but the British got knowledge in time to prevent it.

This condition of fear and cause for fear was so marked in Diarbekir that Dr. Barton felt we ought to see the Vali again and say some frank things to him. We had already called on him to pay our respects, and he had returned the call with full ceremony. But even though it was Friday and not the proper time for an official call, we went to his residence, and found him in gown and slippers. The conversation was typically Turkish, full of promises as unstable as water.

"Your Excellency," we said to him, "we find that the Armenians who are left here are in fear. They see no change in the Turkish government, and are afraid that the wicked events of the past three years may be repeated."

"My dear sirs," he replied, "their fears are entirely groundless. The former régime of the Young Turks did terrible things, but *we* are quite different, we are of the Opposition party; we intend to restore the property of the Armenians to them. Tell them they need not have no fear."

"We thank your excellency for this assurance, but we know the ways of the police in Turkey. We wish to inform you that the Armenians who came to see us last night came at our invitation, that all they said to us was in reply to our questions, that we asked how they were being treated by the Turks. We know that an Armenian was killed by some Turks last week, and nothing is being done to punish the murderers. It is not necessary for the police to call these Armenians to examine them as to why they came to us. We have told you ourselves, and we do not wish to hear that after our departure these Armenians have been made to suffer."

"Istafroullah! May God forgive if such

a thing should happen," was his earnest reply. And as long as the fear of the foreigner is before him it won't happen.

Nothing but foreign pressure stood between the remaining Armenians and further destruction. A Turk, meeting an Armenian in the market-place, drew his hand significantly across his throat, and said: "You think these Americans will help you? Wait till they are gone and you will see that we are your masters still." The difference in atmosphere was marked between places which British troops had occupied, where even an American missionary, without any present force, had come in, and places where no foreign influence had been felt.

The Desire for American Control

The respect for this foreign influence was vast. Everywhere the officials fell over themselves to show honor to the Americans who were thus visiting them. The Minister of the Interior had telegraphed to all the places we expected to visit. The Governors had sent orders to local officials that they were to do everything for Dr. Barton and his party. At Diarbekir they had prepared a house, newly furnished it, and installed a cook and servants to entertain us. The mayor of the city was himself our host at every meal, and the police were at the door to wait on us. The Vali of the province of Harpoot came twenty-five miles to meet us and bid us welcome. There was a tremendous effort to get our favor.

In many places where an American missionary has penetrated alone since the armistice, or where single women remained entirely alone all during the years of the war, the Turks now fawn upon them to such an extent that they are practically dictators of the region. But the desperate fact is that this respect is fast ebbing away, as time goes on and nothing is done to determine the status of the country.

The expression of desire for American control is universal throughout the country, and this control has been absolutely expected. The Armenians recognize their inability to carry on an independent state as



INDUSTRIAL WORK FOR THE RESCUED ORPHANS
IN PALESTINE

yet. The Turks say, "If we can't have our own government we want the Americans." In June, while on a British steamer in Constantinople, I met the Vali of Harpoot, who had been deposed since our visit there. He greeted me most cordially, and in the course of the conversation showed me with pride a letter of "recommendation" from Mr. Henry Riggs, the American missionary in Harpoot. It was as noncommittal a statement of this official's activities as it would be possible to write. But times are changed when a Turkish Governor-General treasures a few lines from an American missionary in the hope that it will be of future benefit.

The country itself cries out for good government, and promises rich rewards. The grain crop everywhere across the peninsula, through this thousand-mile trip, was of splendid appearance and the amount sown was up to normal. The mineral and grazing resources are large. There are many natural products for which Turkey is famous, that will produce large national income. It would take a very small force of Americans to keep the whole of Asia Minor in control. Submission is a Turkish grace where defeat is an accepted fact. It will astonish the world when they know with what small forces the British have occupied regions into which they have gone. Some would call it bluff, but it is really based on a knowledge of the psychology of the Turk; and the best justification of it is its success. If America should take the mandatory for this country, it would in a few years be self-supporting.

Finally, the splendid spirit of the Armenians challenges America not to desert them. Even in their most destitute condition there was always an effort of the poor to help the poorer. It was characteristic of place after place as we found it, that some pitiful attempt had been made to set up an orphanage. The less persecuted coast communities helped all they could to support such efforts. In Cesarea there are two orphanages, one supported by Armenians from that city living in Constantinople, and the other by the Armenian Red Cross Society in Smyrna. A determination that they will not be downed, a faith in their future, a readiness to suffer and endure in order to rebuild their homes and their nationality, an immediate putting forth of all their own resources not only for personal but for community purposes, and in the midst of their poverty and suffering an unconquerable thirst for the education of their children—these are the outstanding qualities we saw.

Clouding over these bright possibilities are the latest developments of strife and hatred and renewed jealousy, growing out of long delay in making a definite settlement of the land. The Italians have moved up their zone of occupation, apparently in agreement with the British, so that they could withdraw, and are astride of the Bagdad Railway at Konia and further north. The Greeks were allowed to occupy Smyrna; and

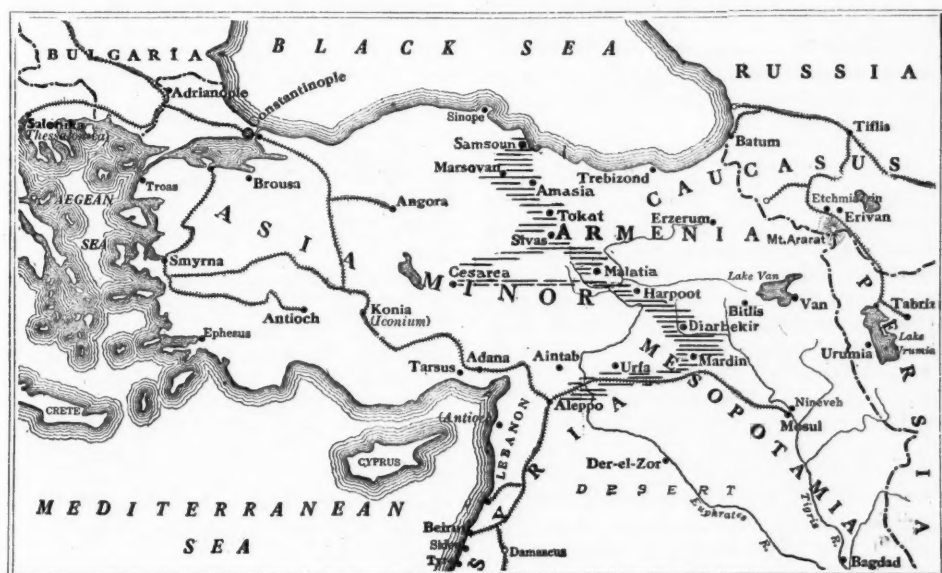
the matter was put on a high plane of honor by all the other Allied commanders of warships in the harbor agreeing that they would not land troops because that might reflect on the ability of the Greeks to keep order.

There is great activity among the Turks to prepare a military force to fight to the death against Greek aggression. Groups of bandits are appearing along the Black Sea to oppose Greek arrogance, and these are intended to be the nucleus of a military organization.

In the northeastern provinces Mustafa Kyamil Pasha has raised an "army" with the avowed purpose of destroying the Armenian Republic of Erivan and recovering the whole region of Turkey, and hardly concealing the intention to massacre all the remaining Armenians in that region if the British troops are withdrawn.

A prompt announcement months ago by the Peace Conference as to what should be done with Turkey would have had immediate acceptance. But we may acknowledge that their labors were too heavy to reach this tail-end subject so soon. Yet even now, if America would take the mandate for Armenia, or for all Asia Minor and Constantinople, it is the one thing that would command universal respect, break up organized opposition, and restore peace and order.

This is not so much a burden of duty for America as an opportunity for service.



THE HORIZONTAL LINES INDICATE THE REGIONS WHICH THIS RELIEF PARTY VISITED

EDUCATION AS WAR'S REWARD

BY FRED L. HOLMES

THE by-products of war are numerous. That there should develop as a result of the war what looks like the beginning of an educational renaissance, is strange. Yet it is evident that the new interest in education is directly a result of the world conflict.

Follow the war from the beginning and associated with it at every step is education. In the beginning it is training of a purely military character. As the war progresses, it becomes more and more a training in mechanics, in chemistry, in engineering, and to the utmost achievements of modern scholarship. It finds expression at one end in the vocational detachments established in the universities for training in all manner of trades, and at the other end in the highest research of the chemical warfare section.

Soldiers Sought Education

It is true that all this educational training and research was for destructive ends during the war period. In its sequel, the symbol of destruction of life and property becomes transformed in its by-products into a beneficent, constructive, recreative energy.

The young men who returned home saw every day in their army life the value of education; saw that in the march of progress enlightenment was necessary. With youthful ambition they determined that they were going to improve themselves by somehow getting an education.

The Public's Gratitude

Home they came. They basked in public appreciation for one brief day. Then they were settled down to the regular routine of business. But the heart of a nation's gratitude was not stilled. There was a persistent demand throughout the country to do something for the soldiers. The Congress of the United States led the way with the bonus of \$60 for every soldier who had been in the military service of the United States. States followed this example. But after the money bonus had been received and was spent, it was forgotten. The public generally felt that somehow or other this expression of gratitude of the nation was inadequate; and some of

them even went so far as to say that it was unimaginative.

Bonus Laws of the States

The State of Colorado conceived the idea of lending money to soldiers to go to school. Legislation authorizing a loan of \$200 to students for the completion of their education was passed. New York went a step beyond this idea and provided tuition of \$100 a year, and an additional sum of \$100 a year for maintenance. The soldiers, in order to benefit by this law, were to be selected by competitive examination. Minnesota went even one step further than New York and provided that any soldier who was a resident of Minnesota at the time of entrance into the military or naval service of the United States, was to receive free tuition to the extent of \$200. North Dakota had the general money-bonus idea, and gave it to soldiers for two purposes—either as payment on a home, or for the completion of an education. This bonus was to be paid on the basis of \$25 a month for each month the soldier was in service. Oregon, with more vision of the educational opportunity, provided for its sons who served in the war and returned to their home State an educational bonus of \$25 for any one month, but not to exceed \$200 a year for any one year for four years.

Wisconsin—Bonus plus Schooling

The most comprehensive piece of bonus legislation offering educational opportunity, however, was passed by the special session of the Wisconsin Legislature in September, 1919.

When the Wisconsin Legislature convened in January, 1919, the question of soldier legislation was immediately broached, but there was confusion of thought in spite of earnest desire to provide some adequate and appropriate reward for the soldiers. The Legislature continued in session for seven months, with this matter continuously before it. The subject was a topic of general discussion in the lobbies throughout the entire session, and the Finance Committee worked hard on the plan.

Out of the confusion there came toward the close of the session two ideas:

First, a money bonus to each man in the service, proportionate to the length of his service, with a minimum bonus of \$50, and

Second, a bonus of \$30 a month, permitting students to continue their education in the higher educational institutions of the State for a period not to exceed four years.

The money bonus idea of \$10 a month for each month in service for the 118,000 Wisconsin men who served in the military or naval forces of the United States during the war, was adopted by the Legislature, subject to a referendum to the people. No concerted effort was made by the soldiers to pass this referendum, but by an overwhelming vote of 165,762 to 57,324 the people of the State approved the legislation, which is estimated to cost \$15,000,000.

Senator Ray J. Nye, of Superior, introduced the educational bonus bill in the regular session of the legislature. The opportunity was limited to the higher educational institutions of the State. The measure was passed by substantial majorities in both houses of the legislature, but was vetoed by Governor Emanuel L. Philipp. His reasons were that the educational privilege was restricted to those who were fortunate enough to have a high-school education or its equivalent; that the educational opportunity was not available to everybody who rendered a like service; and that the scheme, admirable in purpose as it was, was a "leap in the dark."

What the Service Men Wanted

Hope was held out. In order to ascertain the wishes of Wisconsin service men, the State Adjutant General, under direction of the Governor, sent out questionnaires to 81,000 men whose addresses were known. By the middle of August the replies clearly indicated an earnest desire to take advantage of the educational bonus. The Governor then advised the State Board of Education, of which he is a member, that he planned to call a special session of the legislature, and turned over to the board the whole question of further investigation, and the preparation of the legislation. This was on August 21.

The State Board of Education had not been much of a factor in the educational affairs of the State prior to January 1, 1919, when Major Edward A. Fitzpatrick, who

had just completed his successful work in charge of the Wisconsin Draft Administration, was made Secretary. The Board, however, had possibilities of service. The Educational Bonus plan was its opportunity, which it seized upon vigorously and effectively. Within a week there was placed on the Governor's desk an exhaustive report, containing a summary of the questionnaires, an outline of comprehensive educational program, a cost program, and the proposed legislation, which met all the objections of the Governor, and widened considerably the scope of the original legislation. The executive then called the special session of the legislature for September 4th.

The legislature convened. The State Board of Education immediately placed before the legislature the report which it had prepared for the Governor, and which was made the basis of the Governor's special message. Dr. Edward A. Fitzpatrick, representing the State Board of Education as secretary, laid before the Finance Committee the results of its investigation, the educational program it proposed, the cost, and the proposed legislation. With but slight amendment the proposed legislation was promptly enacted into law by the legislature, and the legislators were home at their usual tasks within two days.

In this connection it may be well to note that of the 81,000 service men of known address to whom questionnaires were sent, 20,000 responded. Half of them wanted the educational opportunity. The detailed summary is given in the following table:

To the University of Wisconsin.....	3234
To special schools	3826
To normal schools	368
To Stout Institute	93
To the Wisconsin Mining School.....	66
To the S. A. T. C. or other private colleges	2509
Total	10,096

How the Scheme Is Financed

In the working out of the financial features of the educational bonus plan, the money-bonus legislation was accepted as the basis. Any soldier could accept either the money bonus or the educational bonus, and an opportunity was given him at any time within five years to return the money bonus to avail himself of the advantages of the educational bonus.

These two bills placed a tremendous financial burden on the State. The money-bonus bill requires the raising of \$15,000,000 in the

year 1919. One-third of this amount is to be raised by a graduated surtax on incomes; the remainder by a general property tax of not to exceed three mills. Counties under this bill have the option of bonding themselves for their share of the mill tax. The educational bonus bill is estimated to cost in the five years it is in effect \$10,000,000 additional. The proportionate amount is to be raised annually on the same basis as the money-bonus bill without the bonding feature. No State in the Union has ever raised, by way of gratitude or appreciation, so much money for public service rendered by its citizens. That in doing this the State of Wisconsin is promoting its own welfare by improving the capacity for service of its citizens, in no way impairs the generosity of its act.

The Educational Opportunities Offered

The educational bonus bill aims to provide some educational opportunity for every one of the 118,000 soldiers, sailors, marines, and nurses who served three months or more in the military or naval forces of the United States during the world war. For persons who can take advantage of the full-time educational opportunity, the law provides a payment of \$30 a month for each month in regular attendance, but no individual can receive more than \$1080. These persons, by doing this, waive the \$10 a month for each month in service, but to those who accept the money bonus, the State offers the opportunity of free correspondence instruction over a period of five years, from the numerous correspondence courses offered by the University Extension Division. This privilege is also open to those accepting the \$30 a month bonus during periods when they are not in regular attendance at school, for example, during the summer session.

A further educational opportunity is offered to the money-bonus men. Whenever fifteen of them get together and ask the State Board of Education for any special form of education, the State Board of Education is authorized to provide the form of special education that is requested.

The educational opportunities offered to the men may be taken in any public school in the State, in the State University, in the nine normal schools, in the Stout Institute, in the Wisconsin Mining School, in any one of the 387 high schools, or in any of the vocational schools in the thirty-four cities of the State of over 5000 population. These privi-



SECRETARY E. A. FITZPATRICK OF THE WISCONSIN STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION



SENATOR RAY J. NYE (The Wisconsin legislator who conceived the Soldier Educational Plan)

leges may also be taken in the eight private colleges of the State having an S. A. T. C., or in any other institution of collegiate or high-school grade not operated for profit.

Special Instruction

The administration of this law is vested in the State Board of Education, with wide powers of administrative discretion. This is a new departure in the educational administration of the State, and one which may become a permanent policy. The attitude of the Legislature is well indicated in its directions to the State Board of Education in the law. The Statute provides that:

Whenever any person eligible to receive the aid provided in the Educational Bonus Law shall be unable to secure the instruction suited to his capabilities at any of the institutions or agencies referred to in such law, and the State Board of Education shall so find, such State Board of education shall thereupon select some other institution or agency which is qualified to meet his needs and he shall thereupon be entitled to all assistance to which he would have been entitled as hereinbefore provided for.

Under this authority the State Board of Education has met the needs of certain individuals as follows: One person wanted to attend a college of photography in Illinois, the only one in the country; another student was assigned to a monotype school in Chicago, one of two similar schools in the country; another student was assigned to a school of watchmaking in St. Paul. Others were assigned to colleges of osteopathy, chi-

ropractic, and optometry. For special work in architecture, students have been assigned to Cornell, Michigan, Columbia, and other of the larger universities. For post-graduate work in business administration, law or education of a special character, students have been assigned to Columbia, to Harvard, and to Chicago. And so similarly students have been assigned for special work in art, in forestry, and in various trade courses, to other institutions. One student desires a special course in upholstery. The State Board of Education has not yet found an institution to which to assign him. The needs of all other students have been met.

Assignments to Colleges and Technical Schools

Up to November 15th, about 3200 students had been assigned to the educational institutions of the State. Fifteen hundred of these had been assigned to the University of Wisconsin; three hundred to the State Normal Schools; six hundred to the private colleges of the State; and the others to other public and private educational institutions. These demands are largely for technical and professional higher education and for the completion of work in the regular academic institutions.

To assist the soldiers who desire vocational training or other special training, the State Board of Education, in cooperation with the State Board of Vocational Education, has appointed an adviser who travels through the State, explaining the provisions of the law to these men, and the educational opportunities that are available. He is also organizing special work to meet the needs of the men as he discovers them.

"The continual stream of men into the office of the State Board of Education every day," said Secretary E. A. Fitzpatrick, "who are now availing themselves of the opportunity, indicates that by the time the law expires, the full-time educational opportunity will have been received by at least 10,000 men who originally indicated their desire to take advantage of the law, and the special part-time or correspondence educational opportunity will reach most of the other 110,000.

"Larger numbers would have immediately availed themselves of the educational opportunity but they could not make the necessary adjustments in the few days or weeks elapsing between the passage of the law and the opening of school. These students will

enter next term or next year. They may enter any time prior to July 1, 1924.

"The demand for trade and other vocational instruction is just reaching us, and within a month the necessary new schools will be organized and running to meet this demand."

Men Who Have Received the Award

The law is reaching a wide range of people, as shown by the first persons to whom the educational bonus was granted. The first man to be awarded it was Frank Kupris, a Russian buck private, who wants to secure a university education, and at the age of thirty-one enters the Wisconsin High School at the University of Wisconsin. He served with the American Expeditionary Forces, and saw active military service in the battle of the Somme, Meuse-Argonne, Bois de Forges, Bois de la Cote Lemont, and Brabant-Consenvoye, and was with the Army of Occupation in Germany from December 1918, to April, 1919. His attitude toward the Educational Bonus Law is disclosed in his statement to the State Board of Education:

I attended school in Russia for several years as long as my father could pay my expenses. As far as University education is concerned I could not think of that sort of thing because that was beyond me. In Russia there are no chances for any kind of education for a self-supporting man. But I found that it is not so in this country and it seems to me that any one in this country who remains uneducated has himself to blame and no one else, because here is a wonderful system of schools available to all people. The attitude towards the soldiers in this country is beating the world's records, as far as wages and other rewards are concerned. Especially is this true with regard to opportunities for education.

The second person, Stanley B. Fosse, a sergeant who was wounded in the battle of Château-Thierry, was assigned to Beloit College. The third persons, Carlyle B. Wurster, an officer who also saw overseas service, was assigned to the University of Wisconsin. Several Red Cross nurses have been awarded the bonus to take up public health work and special laboratory work in the University of Wisconsin. Among other distinct classes who have received the bonus are a Chippewa Indian from La Court Oreilles Reservation, who was assigned to a high school; a colored man assigned to the University of Wisconsin and a blind man who lost his sight in battle and who is receiving instruction in a Red Cross hospital school.

Coöperation of Private Colleges

The Educational Bonus Law has inaugurated a new era in education in Wisconsin. The educational institutions are anxious to serve these men and to adjust their courses of study and instruction to their special needs. This is true in all the State institutions and it is true in the private colleges. These private colleges, seeing their opportunity for a larger service, had associated themselves together—the first time this has ever been done in America—and appealed to the people of the State for a donation fund of \$5,000,000. Coöperating with the public educational institutions, and adjusting their curricula so as to dovetail into a joint educational system with the State, and serving practically as junior colleges to the State

University, they have the good-will of all the State's public educational authorities.

The educational institutions of the State, in coöperation with the State Board of Education, are furnishing an educational leadership more responsive to the new demands of the era of reconstruction, and the State is looking forward to a program of education that will be more far-reaching than could be normally expected. This inspiration has been caught by other States. Inquiries regarding the Educational Bonus Law and its administration are coming and it is likely that other States which are now watching the administration of the Wisconsin law, will follow its example and bring about a strengthening of the democratic trend in public education in this country in all grades and classes of schools.

THE APPEAL OF WISCONSIN COLLEGES

WISCONSIN, long known as one of the progressive States, is the first to recognize in a practical way the joint financial needs of its private colleges as institutions having claims on the general public for support. Nine voluntarily supported colleges—Beloit, Campion, Carroll, Lawrence, Marquette, Milton, Milwaukee-Downer, Northland, and Ripon—have banded themselves together as the Wisconsin Colleges Associated; and from November 12 to 19 a canvass was made to obtain funds to meet the immediate needs of these colleges in the provision of equipment and salaries of the teaching staffs.

Every community in the State, urban and rural, was reached by this "drive," which was directed by methods similar to those employed in several of the great money-raising campaigns during the war. It was like those campaigns in this also—that it associated interests that had never before worked together in a common cause. Two of the nine colleges thus leagued together are Roman Catholic institutions. Of the seven Protestant colleges five have received most of their support in the past from Congregational and Presbyterian sources, one from the Methodists, and one from the Seventh-Day Baptists. These differences were long ago subordinated to the central ambition of all the colleges to serve the community, each in its own field and in its own way. This note was emphasized in the appeal to the general public.

From pioneer days to the present, Wiscon-

sin has owed much to her privately endowed colleges. Fifty thousand students have attended them for a whole or a part of the course and 10,000 have been graduated. Many of these men and women would never have had a college course but for the little college near their homes. The citizenship of Wisconsin is to-day vastly the richer because of their contribution. It is not strange that the State University appreciates this fact and has earnestly endorsed the campaign from the beginning.

The existing facilities of both the State University and the private colleges are greatly overtaxed to give a higher education to the sons and daughters of the State who require it. The preceding article outlines the new demand that is already made by the Soldiers' Education Law. Both personnel and material equipment must be expanded at once to meet this demand.

The canvass was planned to secure pledges of \$1,000,000 a year for the ensuing five years. It was agreed that the proceeds should be apportioned to the individual colleges on the basis of student attendance hours during the academic year 1917-18. Thus five students who carry sixteen hours of class work every week for a college year of nine months would count the same as twenty students who attend but four classes a week for a college year. This method of distribution was devised by the college presidents themselves.

WHEN BOYS LEAVE SCHOOL

"DRAFT" STATISTICS IN MINNEAPOLIS ANALYZED

BY THOMAS J. MALONE

WHAT are the stumbling years for boys in the common school course is indicated in a study of unusual educational value that has just been completed in Minneapolis, based on information given in draft records under oath. Its disclosures, and the conclusions based on them, are believed to be suggestive to every community in America, for Minneapolis may be regarded as a fairly typical city, standing between the small and the large in population and having a wide diversity in people—in racial origins, occupations, and living standards.

The study had to do with registrants under the Selective Service Act of the first draft only, that of June 5, 1917. It involved a classification of more than 30,000 registrants on a basis of extent of schooling received, as stated by them in Government questionnaires. While the classification was made complete through elementary school, high school, and college or university, even to including professional and graduate study, the significant disclosures were as to elementary years.

Grouping registrants by years of schooling gave figures confirmative of what educators have believed for years in a general way but never before have been able to check in so large a definite group—that the public schools, while holding boys fairly well in the lower grades of the elementary school (and in the high school, such as reached it), lost grip woefully in the sixth, seventh, and eighth grades. It was in those grades, each "grade" corresponding to a year of schooling, that the highest ratios of boys, the study disclosed, left school for good, or bad.

In other words, the predominant weakness of the common school organization—comprising the first twelve years of school from the beginning year to the end of high school—began in the sixth year, became more marked in the seventh, and reached its height in the eighth. Boys from twelve to fourteen or fifteen were the ones affected.

The study suggested that the urgent need for holding boys through this three-year period was for a change in the courses of study and in the teaching method conform-

able to the changing tastes and demands of adolescents. The school must adapt itself to the psychology of youth.

Utilizing the Draft Questionnaires

Minneapolis's population in 1917 was about 400,000. It registered in the draft of June 5 that year a total of 41,000 men, of ages from 21 to 30 years inclusive. The questionnaires filled out by registrants contained questions as to the number of years of schooling they had had—elementary, high school, college or university, or beyond.

Seeing the possibilities in such an enrolment of so large a district group, John N. Greer, assistant superintendent of the Minneapolis public schools, obtained permission from the war department to consult the questionnaires when returned to division draft boards and to copy for his own use certain information, including that on extent of schooling. So far as known, Minneapolis is the only city to which such permission was granted and that took advantage of it.

Mr. Greer organized a staff of more than three hundred volunteers from the teaching corps of the public schools, prepared cards in blank for gathering the specific information desired, and turned the workers loose among the thirteen division draft boards.

Certain classes of registrants were excluded from the study. They were: aliens, both friendly and enemy; men enlisted as volunteers who had left for service and whose questionnaires could not be returned in time to be available; those whose questionnaires were returned to draft boards so incomplete as to be unusable; and those whose questionnaires were not in the hands of draft boards at the time of compiling.

The excluded classes totaled 10,417 men. Thus 30,583 men formed the basis for the study proper. From their cards containing data transferred from questionnaires something of value could be drawn.

According to Mr. Greer, this deduction of one-fourth the entire registration did not materially affect the value of the study based on the 30,583 total.

"The early voluntary enlistments that

figure in the 10,417 group were mostly of high school and college men," he explains, "so their inclusion, had it been possible, would have raised the 'extent of schooling' line for the whole. The aliens and those who made out incomplete returns or delayed in returning questionnaires would have lowered the line, if included. It is fair to assume that these excluded classes about offset one another."

One in Twenty Without Schooling

A classification of the 30,583 registrants by years of schooling yielded the following result (a fraction of a year being counted as a full year):

One thousand four hundred forty-eight had never had any schooling whatever; 163 had had not more than one year of schooling; 265 not more than two years; 535 not more than three years; 1088 had four years; 1053 had five years; 2331 had six years; 3144 had seven years; 10,595 had eight years; 1822 had nine years, which was taken to mean one year of high school work; 1876 had ten years; 1298 had eleven years; 2161 had twelve years, while 2804 had college or university training, or higher.

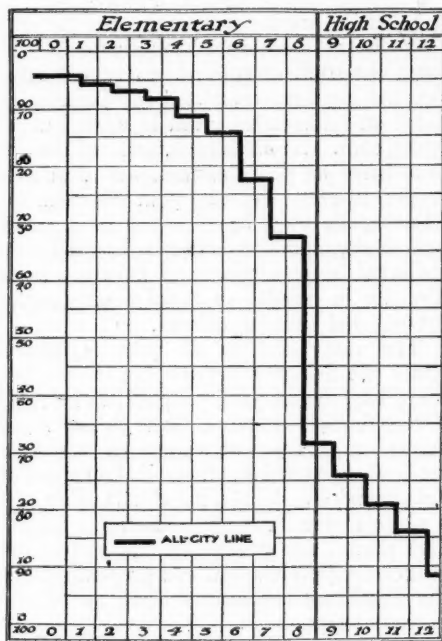
These figures become more significant when arranged tabularly, thus:

Years of schooling	Number of registrants	Percent. of registrants	Total percentage who had left school by end of year in 1st column
0	1448	4.734
1	163	.532	5.266
2	265	.866	6.132
3	535	1.749	7.881
4	1088	3.557	11.438
5	1053	3.443	14.881
6	2331	7.621	22.502
7	3144	10.280	32.782
8	10,595	34.643	67.425
9	1822	5.957	73.382
10	1876	6.137	79.519
11	1298	4.244	83.763
12	2161	7.066	90.829
College	2804	9.168	99.997

After recovering from the appalling disclosure that nearly one-twentieth of the men reported never having had any schooling at all, one notes that comparatively few left in the first, second, or third years, that the ratio doubles in the fourth year, is virtually maintained in the fifth, becomes alarmingly large in the sixth, and gets out of bounds in the seventh and eighth. More than one-third of the entire group left after having had eight years of schooling. Nearly

one-third left with seven years or less. More than two-thirds quit before reaching high school.

The course of the year-to-year quitters may be more clearly seen in the graph:



This group of 30,583 draft registrants, Mr. Greer points out, constitutes a cross-section of democracy and suggests what may be expected of a democracy so limited educationally. There is no reason to think that any ten-year group above 30 years old would show a higher extent-of-schooling line. In fact, a poorer showing might naturally be expected from any such group.

It is true that members of the two-thirds who left school before the ninth grade, or high school, did so all the way from seven to twenty-four years before the time of reporting in questionnaires, on the assumption that before dropping out every one had covered a grade a year. However, society moves slowly in educational progression and it is not believed that our schools, in the last ten years, or even five, have been doing markedly better in holding boys in the grades—except for the influence of compulsory education laws in different States.

Mr. Greer credits compulsory education laws in Minnesota and elsewhere with having had considerable to do with keeping boys

in school through the eighth grade; and he recognizes that they account, to no small extent, for the large ratio of those who quit at the end of that year. In Minnesota, the law since 1911 has required children to go to school until sixteen years old unless they complete the eighth grade before that age.

What the Poorer Residential Section Showed

When the 30,583 registrants were grouped by wards and each ward group was distributed according to years of schooling, the distributions disclosed that in industrial wards and those having the most people of foreign descent the falling-out in grades below the high school was more marked than in the all-city distribution. In the "non-industrial" wards—those comprising the "best residence sections"—the grades held up better and the slump, while emphatic in sixth, seventh, and eighth grades, was not so pronounced.

The First ward of Minneapolis has a population largely of foreign descent—Scandinavian, Pole, Slavonian. Its people are, for the most part, hand workers, employed in railroad shops and factories of various kinds. It showed the poorest extent-of-schooling line. This ward furnished 1723 of the 30,583 registrants. The distribution was:

Years of schooling	Number of registrants	Percent. of registrants	Total percentage who had left school by end of year in 1st column
0	265	15.380	1.753
1	35	2.031	17.411
2	56	3.250	20.661
3	96	5.571	26.232
4	117	6.790	33.022
5	118	6.848	39.870
6	167	9.692	49.562
7	172	9.982	59.544
8	490	28.438	87.982
9	64	3.714	91.696
10	39	2.263	93.959
11	42	2.437	96.396
12	36	2.089	98.485
College	26	1.508	99.993

In this ward the number reporting no schooling whatever was more than one-seventh of the group three times as poor a showing as the average for the entire city. Lower ratios left school in seventh and eighth years in that ward than in the all-city distribution; but that fact is not encouraging, for the falling-away was much greater in earlier years—and nearly 88 per cent. of the group had left by the end of the eighth

year as compared with 67 per cent. in the all-city spread.

The Best Residential Section, in Contrast

The Thirteenth ward in Minneapolis is typical of the "best residence section" ward. It has a large ratio of professional workers in its population, as well as sales persons, solicitors, and others who gain their livelihood by other than manual labor. The ward does not comprise the homes of the richest folk, but its people are largely of the home-owning class. Its extent-of-schooling line proved the best among the thirteen wards. It registered 1,889 of the 30,583 men. This was the distribution in that "best residence" section:

Years of schooling	Number of registrants	Percent. of registrants	Total percentage who had left school by end of year in 1st column
0	51	2.669
1	5	.264	2.933
2	2	.105	3.038
3	6	.317	3.355
4	15	.794	4.149
5	21	1.111	5.260
6	60	3.176	8.436
7	88	4.658	13.094
8	525	27.792	40.886
9	176	9.317	50.203
10	204	10.799	61.002
11	131	6.934	67.936
12	276	14.610	82.546
College	329	17.416	99.962

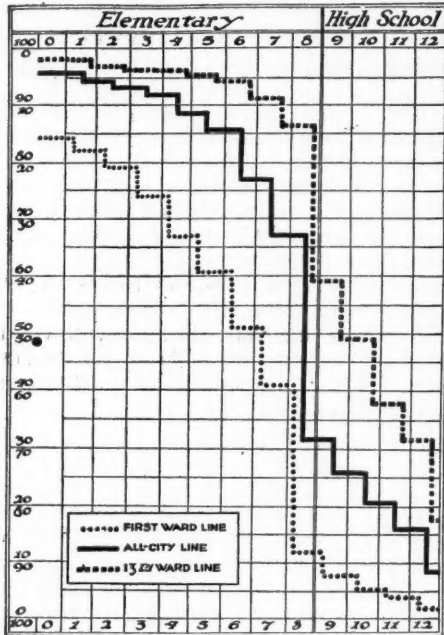
Here while only 13 per cent. had left by the end of the seventh year, nearly 28 per cent. of the entire group left in or at the end of the eighth year, almost as high a ratio as disclosed in the First ward for that year. About 41 per cent. had left before high school, as compared with 88 per cent. in the First ward and 67 per cent. in the all-city group. The traditional school method and curriculum held boys of this type better than of the First ward type.

The First and Thirteenth ward graphs are given together with the all-city graph for comparison purposes:

Where the Public School System Fails

"This is the first time in the history of the United States," Mr. Greer points out, in drawing conclusions from the study, "that we have been able to obtain a cross-section analysis of the facts in regard to the extent of schooling based on testimony under oath.

"In analyzing these facts, we find that



(In this graph a comparison is presented of the extent-of-schooling lines of the First and Thirteenth Ward groups of registrants, the poorest and the best in the Minneapolis study, with the all-city line. Extent-of-schooling lines of the other eleven ward groups all lie between those of the First and Thirteenth. The sixth, seventh and eighth year relations are significant.)

the average educational standing of our citizenry, as gauged by time spent in school, is less than what is embraced in the elementary school training. It is plain that the majority of these young men left school before they had any definite civic or vocational intelligence. Combined civic and vocational intelligence is a necessary educational basis for the formation of a proper type of American citizenship. If we are to maintain our country as a successful democracy, the first thing to be done is to raise the intelligence of our citizens in both these respects.

"The passage of the Smith-Hughes Act by Congress and the proposed Smith-Towner bill before the present Congress go to show that the educators of the country are beginning to understand that the present educational system is not adequate, that much educational training of a different type must be developed in connection with the public school system if we are to give our youth

the proper measure of both civic and vocational intelligence so to function in their lives that, first, they may become worthy American citizens, and, second, they may become sufficiently skilled in a vocation to earn a living wage."

Mr. Greer holds that his analysis of draft records in Minneapolis shows that our present public school system breaks in two in the middle, and that the break comes before the mind is sufficiently trained for any sort of basis for correct intelligence.

"The lessons of these graphs," he declares, "are clear. The first step of the public school system is to establish a new type of school in grades where these tremendous losses occur. The junior high school is the first attempt to meet the problem. The problem of the junior high school is the most important in modern education."

"The public school should keep control of all youths in some form of educational training and guidance until they are intelligently placed in business and industry. This means continuation schools, trade preparatory schools, trade extension schools, unit trade schools, and part-time schools—all these in addition to the present so-called cultural courses and preparatory schools which lead to college and the professions."

"Eighty per cent. of our youth enter business or industry without adequate preparation of the kind the public schools, if properly equipped, could give them, while less than 5 per cent. of our youth are graduated from college."

The new type of intermediate school suggested by Mr. Greer will induce many of the sixth, seventh, and eighth year "slumpers" to stay in school through personal interest. There is a good deal of sham in the excuse many of these children give for quitting school—that their home conditions require that they "go to work." Most of these children leave through dissatisfaction with the school, not because it is necessary. Most parents, no matter in what hard straits, will keep their children in school if they want to be there. Dissatisfaction with the present courses and lack of opportunity offered in other educational courses account for their dropping out in such numbers when the compulsory education law no longer can keep them in.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

THE ARMY WE NEED

IN connection with the suggestions for a national military program, put forth by Generals Pershing and Wood and other experts, a well-considered article on "The Army We Need," from the pen of Major Richard Stockton, Jr., appears in the *North American Review* for November.

Major Stockton, like all of the most competent authorities who have attempted to deal with this question, recognizes the fact that the country is unalterably opposed to a large standing army, but still desires reasonable and adequate preparation. In discussing the subject of preparation, however, some writers seem to have wholly overlooked the requirement that our army must in any event be able to take the field as soon as war is declared, and that we cannot count on having a year of preparation while allies engage the enemy's attention, as was the case in 1917-18. Major Stockton emphasizes this point and does not permit his readers to lose sight of it at any stage of the discussion.

Conceding that public sentiment in the United States is opposed to a large standing army, what are the minimum requisites that should govern its size? Major Stockton states them briefly as follows:

The regular army must be large enough to (a) garrison our colonies, (b) protect our southern border, (c) furnish small expeditionary forces for minor campaigns, (d) guard and care for our military property and equipment, and (e) do such training and administration of other forces as cannot be handled by the officers of those forces.

If the national army is barely large enough to perform the duties named it will clearly fall short of the strength necessary to give adequate preparation for war. It must be supplemented by a citizen soldiery—the one force that meets the requirements of preparedness with a minimum of service. Major Stockton concludes, therefore, that our military legislation must provide for a small

standing army, supplemented by a large, efficient citizen soldiery.

Taking into account the speed with which European armies were mobilized at the outbreak of the Great War, Major Stockton argues that we should have at the very least 500,000 combatant troops ready to mobilize in a period that would be counted in hours after declaration of war and that we should have another 500,000 men able to be mobilized in a period of days thereafter.

At first thought this may seem impracticable if we are to have a small standing army, but, as a matter of fact there is one, and just one, sure way in which it may be accomplished *i. e.*, by making the Regular Army a small quickly expandable, skeletonized unit at peace strength, with a carefully planned and tried out system of instantaneous conversion to a completely equipped and trained war strength.

In order that we may have a force of at least 500,000 men ready to move immediately on the outbreak of war, one of the first essentials is that we maintain the divisional organization in peace. To keep the standing army small, these divisions may be maintained at a peace strength of from one-third to one-half of the war strength, with both officers and men of a trained citizen soldiery actually assigned to regiments and companies or corresponding units, ready to join the colors the instant that the necessity should arise. Not only must these citizen soldiers be trained and assigned to organized units *before* an emergency arises, but their arms, clothing, equipment and all the *impedimenta* of war must be with the unit, only awaiting the arrival of the citizen soldier.

Under that system, we can have a small Regular Army and yet be ready to meet an enemy on the outbreak of war. Assuming that the Regular Army strength be fixed at from 200,000 to 275,000 men, organized into from fifteen to twenty skeleton divisions, when war should be declared, presto!—we almost equal the dreams of William Jennings Bryan.

For the second 500,000 men Major Stockton would rely on the National Guard—but on a very different Guard from that of the past. In the Guard of the future both officers and men must have had good previous training. Many of those at present in the organization have been trained in war. In

the time that is available for the average Guardsman it is impossible to train soldiers, but men already trained may be kept in condition with that amount of work.

The reader will doubtless have surmised that Major Stockton depends upon universal compulsory training to supply the personnel of his army. Taking three months as the minimum period of intensive training, we would each year train 650,000 young men. At the conclusion of this training every man would be enrolled in one of three forces, (a) as an inactive member of the regular

army, (b) as a member of the National Guard, or (c) as a member of the general, unorganized reserve. In this way the enlisted men of the trained citizen soldiery would be secured. For securing and training the officers to command this army Major Stockton would rely upon West Point, the private military schools, the ranks of the regular army, and would add those young men who, after completing their period of compulsory training, volunteer and are found fit for additional training as officer candidates.

NATIONALIZATION IN ENGLAND —FOR AND AGAINST

DURING the past year the term nationalization, as applied to natural resources, the railroads, and even to large-scale industries in general, has obtained wide usage in Great Britain. It is recognized as one of the most urgent political and industrial questions of the day. With a view to presenting clearly the arguments for and against nationalization, the *London Review of Reviews* publishes two articles by writers who hold divergent views on the question, but whose knowledge of economic and industrial conditions gives special authority to their statements. Sir Leo Chiozza Money states the case for nationalization, while Mr. Hartley Withers summarizes the argument on the other side.

The article by Sir Leo C. Money is devoted largely to an exposure of the failures of capitalism in England before and during the war and the brilliant success of the policy of state action, especially in the matter of munition factories and shipping. The six points advanced in behalf of the policy of nationalization are as follows:

(1) The essential supplies and products of a nation must in the interests of public safety and welfare be nationally owned and controlled.

(2) It is of the utmost importance to take national action to conserve national products such as coal and timber.

(3) It is essential that every transport facility should be removed from commercial (*i. e.*, profiteering) control, and vested in public authority.

(4) The motive of private profit as a stimulus to production and distribution is a proved failure.

(5) Throughout the world public ownership has grown apace in the last twenty years, and everywhere been so great a success that no state or

city has ever sold out an undertaking once acquired.

(6) The conception of democracy is inconsistent with the private ownership of the means of work.

Mr. Hartley Withers, the editor of the *Economist*, takes issue with the advocates of nationalization in regard to the claims for successful state action in the war. He asks, "Was not the war won by the efforts of our fighters and civilians, in spite of the muddling and profligate extravagance of the government? The government did great things in the production of shells and weapons, but it had all the resources of the nation united behind it for a great cause, and it had the enormous advantage of knowing exactly what had to be produced. It had not to face the real problem of industry in normal times, of producing goods to meet the fluctuating whims of the world's demands. There was no call on its judgment. As to its conduct of industry, in competition in neutral markets with individual enterprise, one can only feel the gravest fear."

Mr. Withers admits that expert managers, trained in competitive industry, would for a time at least be available in nationalized industry, but he is not at all sure that they would be chosen and he is very nearly sure that if they were chosen "they would soon lose all initiative and enterprise in the deadening official atmosphere."

The argument that nationalization of industry secures industrial peace has been overturned in England by the railway strike, and rather than set up a new system, the

success of which is at least doubtful, Mr. Withers is convinced that it would be wiser to set about the amendment of the system of private capital, great as the faults of that system may have been. That change would also be easier to make.

Mr. Withers also dwells on the moral argument in favor of competition—that by stimulating each man to do his best so that he may win in the race for profit the capitalistic system produces gains to the com-

munity which more than balance the waste of which it has been found guilty. When we compete with our rivals and strive to gain at their expense, the real goal for which we are racing is the service of those who buy our products, in other words, the consuming community. The division of labor has made us all dependent on one another and we produce goods and service to be exchanged for those produced by others. Competition implies coöperation.

AN INTERNATIONAL LABOR OFFICE

A USEFUL article on the program of the International Labor Office set up under the Peace Treaty is contributed by Mr. C. Delisle Burns to the *International Review* for October. In view of the General Conference for International Labor Legislation, being held at Washington, a questionnaire was sent out by the International Organizing Committee to the Allied Governments and to certain neutral states, which indicates the subjects to be discussed. These are (1) the eight-hour day and forty-eight-hour week in industry; (2) the prevention of unemployment and the relief of distress arising therefrom; (3) the regulation of the work of women and children. Mr. Burns indicates the general features of these problems, summarizes what has been done already in various states, and suggests further subjects for international action.

With regard to the eight-hour day and unemployment, this English writer states the case as follows:

The point to be emphasized is that many states have already adopted the principle in the case of some industries: it may be extended to cover other trades, and other states may agree to establish similar systems within their frontiers. There might be an international agreement applying an eight-hour day to all miners. There is no difficulty as to the facts. More leisure is necessary for competent citizenship; and in world commerce the shorter hours will compel better organization for production. Again, with regard to unemployment, it is known that the percentage of unemployed in certain trades in all countries varies through a course of years in combination with general fluctuations of trade. It is also clear that there is in all countries an invariable residuum or reserve of labor, in discontinuous occupations and on the "fringe" of the larger industries. The nature of unemployment can probably not be understood without constant reference to the larger issues of industrial, commercial, and financial organization or disorganization. But unemployment in any one

country has international effects, restricting exports, and limiting the purchasing power for imports.

Almost all civilized states have regulations as to the labor of women and children, but the system of maternity benefit is not yet established everywhere, and the time of rest is different in different countries.

As regard further question of industrial organization and regulation, Mr. Burns points out that a problem is not international simply because it exists everywhere, but chiefly because it can be understood and solved only in international terms. "Nothing at all can be done if even the parties most intimately concerned continue to think within frontiers and in the terms of trade rivalry, race prejudice, and obsolete nationalism."



THE SANE ELEMENT ON TOP
From the *News* (Dallas Tex.)

PUBLIC OPINION IN GERMANY

PUBLIC opinion, as expressed in the various newspapers and periodicals of Germany during the autumn months, is summarized by the *Review of Reviews* of London.

During the month of September a number of important diplomatic "revelations" were made which concern German policy, and have excited considerable interest in the German papers. The first of these was the disclosure of the German-Danish "conversations" which had taken place at various times between the years 1905 and 1908.

The first indication of these was given in the German press of September 5th. It was followed by further details, and just over a week later, by the issue of a Danish Government White Book giving the documents. This was summarized in the English press and need not be disclosed here beyond saying that the reported views of General von Moltke on the Schleswig question, the solution of which was held out as an inducement to Denmark to join Germany in any war which might ensue, as also the accounts of conversations between the Kaiser and King Christian IX in 1903 and between King Edward VII and the Danish Count Frijs in 1908, were widely noticed in Germany. The same is true of the so-called "Green Documents," published in France and reproduced in the leading German papers (e.g., the *Vossische Zeitung*, in its evening edition for September 12th). These consisted of reports from the German Ambassador in Paris, and his Foreign Office at the time of the Morocco crisis of 1911, and show that at that date M. Caillaux was making personal attempts to secure conciliation with Germany.

On the same day there was published in Germany a document of the highest historical interest and importance. This was the text of the so-called Re-insurance Treaty (*Rückversicherungsvertrag*) concluded by Bismarck secretly between Germany and Russia in the year 1887. The very existence of this Treaty was not certainly known until 1896, and its text, with the secret protocol attached to it, now made known in its entirety for the first time.

An important article dealing with several other diplomatic "revelations" appears in the September number of the *Preussische Jahrbücher* from the pen of a well-known

Professor of History, now holding a chair at the University of Giessen, Professor Gustav Roloff. He entitles his article "The Negotiations concerning a German-English Alliance, 1898-1901," and bases his study mainly on the fresh material provided in recent volumes of recollections by Dr. Otto Hamann, who was in charge of the Press Department of the German Foreign Office under four Chancellors, and is, therefore, in a position to make a good many interesting revelations. The most important of these is that which concerns the offer of an alliance made by Bismarck to Lord Salisbury in November, 1887, and Lord Salisbury's negative reply. For the first time the whole of this extremely interesting correspondence between the two statesmen is given to the world, and the article by Professor Roloff which discusses it ought certainly to be noticed by all students of modern European history. The conscious attempt it makes to justify not only German policy in general, but Prince Bülow's policy in particular, should, however, cause its arguments to be received with caution.

The tremendous anti-Polish campaign in the matter of Upper Silesia which was in full swing in the German papers, particularly of the Right, during the whole of September, has certainly roused German public opinion, and stimulated Nationalist feeling in the country. The protracted negotiations over General von der Goltz's army in Lithuania are also a sign that Junker opinion is not by any means so discredited as many of us would like to believe. The Berlin Government does not appear to be in a position—whether it has the will is also a doubtful question—to remove the growing German forces in the Baltic, and, whatever may be the immediate effect of Entente threats, there can be no doubt to anyone who studies the German newspapers and reviews, that a deliberate attempt on the part of Germans to gain control of Russia through the Baltic will be made sooner or later.

In this connection it is interesting to turn to an article in the review edited by the National Liberal leader, Dr. Stresemann, *Deutsche Stimmen*, for September 7th. This contribution, entitled "Germany and the Eastern Border States," deals with the anti-German factors which are present in the various peoples inhabiting the Baltic Prov-

inces and endeavors to show that the project, ascribed to the Entente, of setting up these nations as a barrier to the spread of German penetration eastwards, must be regarded as utopian. The writer, Dr. Gerhard Schultze-Pfäelzer, says:

In the last few weeks there has arisen in anti-German circles in Lettland a new plan which aims at bringing about a different solution (*i. e.*, as opposed to the Polish) of the whole Border States question. This plan is advocated by the Ulmanis Cabinet. In particular the new Lettish foreign minister, who is filled with a mortal hatred of everything German, has done much to bring the matter into prominence. The question is one of establishing a federation of all former Russian border territories which shall form a common front against Germany as against East Prussia, Finland, Esthonia, Lettland, Lithuania, and Poland, shall conclude a close economic and political alliance, shall come to an understanding with Russia, and shall firmly set themselves against the process of disintegration which Germany is alleged to be assisting. Anyone who knows anything at all of conditions in the East will realize that this is a purely utopian scheme. If the Border States wish to develop at all in a European sense they will need to seek communication with the West. . . . German policy must carefully observe all developments which may show themselves in the separate states.

The whole article is worthy of note, not as a description of present conditions—these may alter almost from week to week—but as an indication of that German interest in the Baltic which has been translating itself into action in the propagandist achievements of General von der Goltz's army.

Germany's ambitions and plans direct themselves, however, not only towards the

east. There are signs of the efforts which are being made to win back and increase Germany's share in the trade of the new states, above all, for the present, it would appear, Czechoslovakia.

An organization for the encouragement of trade with the United States, too, is in rapid process of formation. One important section of it will deal with cotton, in connection with which the German papers of September report an elaborate scheme for the setting-up of a new Cotton Trade Bank. Finally, the September number of the well-known review, the *Suddeutsche Monatshefte*, is a reminder to us that German attempts to gain the goodwill of neutral countries have been resumed with all the war-time thoroughness. This particular issue is entitled "Switzerland speaks to us" and is made up almost entirely of articles by prominent Swiss writers on the future relations between the Swiss Confederation and the new German Republic. From the use to which other similar numbers of the *Suddeutsche Monatshefte* were put during the war it is not unfair to assume that this issue will be widely circulated in Switzerland with the object of influencing Swiss opinion.

In spite of enormous internal difficulties, the principal of which during the month under review appear to have been the disorganization of the railways and the sinister threats of fresh outbreaks by the pro-Bolsheviks, Germany is keenly appreciative of the necessity for re-establishing her position, morally, politically and economically, in the world,

EVOLUTION OF THE LIBERAL MOVEMENT IN GERMANY DURING THE WAR

IT IS certainly gratifying to learn from documentary evidence that the nefarious inception and conduct of the Great War on the part of Germany was not backed by all her people; that much determined opposition was forcibly suppressed by the government, some of it coming to light, but mainly in neutral territory. A highly interesting article on this subject, by Hélène Claparade-Spir, appears in a recent issue of *La Revue Mondiale* (Paris); she supports her statements by many telling quotations. We give below some of the salient features of her summary:

It could for a long time be believed, thanks to the lucubrations of the supposed leaders of German thought, that the whole nation had sunk into a fatal aberration; that the entire people, indeed, were accomplices in the great crime. Gradually it appeared, however, that some men—*rari nantes*—remained faithful to principles of right and justice. These were joined by others whose sight was cleared as they emerged from the "sea of errors" into which they had been purposely plunged. While in 1914 and '15 the declarations of Fernau, Grumbach, and the famous work *J'accuse*—written and published in

Switzerland—were about the only indications of German protest against the imperial régime and its criminal doings, we know now that a number of enlightened Germans wrought on the same lines but were not allowed to be heard.

It was thus, for example, that naught was known of the efforts of Dr. Nicolai, professor of physiology at the University of Berlin, to publish his indignant protest against the notorious manifesto, "It is Not True," which covered German official action with even greater ridicule than shame. He intended to devote the next semester to questions he had at heart; he was drafted as a doctor to prevent his doing so. Subsequently he published in Zurich, in 1917, *Die Biologie des Krieges* ("The Biology of the War"), an authoritative work, containing the matter of his projected lectures.

The heroic attitude of F. W. Foerster, of Munich, is well known. He is one of the chiefs of that valiant advance-guard whose efforts tend to inspire the German people with a new spirit. Another German democrat, sorely persecuted in Germany, is W. Schücking, professor of international law. To those who justified the war by claiming that Germany was encircled he declared that "it was Germany herself who was the cause of her encirclement by refusing to adhere to the Hague Convention."

After recounting the efforts of men like Professor Sieper of Munich, Nelson of the University of Göttingen, and others, the writer singles out Helmuth von Gerlach and Theodore Wolff, men in the foremost rank of the opposition publicists. The former, abroad when war was declared, was dismayed on his return to Germany at the ravages which had been wrought in the mentality of his countrymen. He sought boldly and steadily in his ultra-Liberal weekly, *Die Welt am Montag*, to enlighten the people as to the errors of their leaders, and was one of the first champions in Germany of a League of Nations. As for Theodore Wolff, the noted editor of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, it was his subtlety—as a French writer declared—which permitted him to escape the censorship in great part. But it must be noted that, contrary to censorship in other countries, in Germany no blanks are allowed, so that the reader is often misled as to the author's meaning.

A number of women, too, braved the menace of the police and the rigors of the censorship; and it was not alone the Socialists

among them who had the courage to face a prison. The writer dwells especially upon the work of Helene Stöcker, editor of *Die Neue Generation*, and of Annette Kolb.

But it was not only in the rear that a movement of opposition manifested itself; many protesting voices were raised in the trenches.

And with time evidences of Liberal opposition increased. A striking case of change of heart was that of Maximilian Harden, editor of *Die Zukunft*, who from being a fiery Pan-Germanist at the outset of the war soon became an ardent defender of liberty and democracy.

In this brief sketch of the Liberal movement in Germany the action of the Independent Socialists, such as Bernstein, Liebknecht, Haase, and others, representatives of the opposition in the Reichstag, must not be forgotten. To quote a single passage of Haase's eloquent address on the occasion of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk:

My party is filled with a profound sense of shame in face of the violence imposed upon a neighboring nation, and that after all the assurances that had been given! . . . Now no one in all the world will have faith in Germany's word! . . . Oh! if you would grant us freedom of the press and of assembly you would see what the people think of your policy!

Outside of the spheres mentioned, it is among the poets, men of letters, and artists that the champions of the Liberal movement are recruited; the writer mentions a number of eminent names in this connection. The well-known political organ, the *Freie Zeitung*, founded and published in Switzerland by German Republicans, likewise calls for mention.

The awakening of the intelligent youth of Germany, the writer comments, ought to be more widely known. The movement was started in 1915 by some young people—who were not dupes of the "great deception"—forming a society, but, watched incessantly by the military authorities, it was dissolved in 1917, after having launched an appeal, "The Future is at Stake," exhorting the younger generation to a moral and spiritual resurrection.

The object of her exposé, necessarily an incomplete one and composed some time before the collapse of Imperial Germany, was simply to collect documents (no easy task and one that had not been attempted before), which would afford a view of the evolution of Liberal thought in the Empire during the war.

A GERMAN ARRAIGNMENT OF TIRPITZ

CAPTAIN PERSIUS, well known as a free-spoken critic of the German High Command, recently issued a pamphlet entitled "How Tirpitz ruined the German Fleet." A translation of this by Captain F. C. Bowen, published in the current *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*, is timely and interesting as a revelation of some of the cardinal causes of the German defeat and of the subsequent revolution. The first point of the indictment deals with Tirpitz's failure to understand and cope with "the powerful mass of inflammable matter which had been accumulating during the course of the war among the ratings and stokers through the conduct of those who were set over them."

Even before the war there were many complaints as to unjust and unworthy treatment issuing from the ranks of warrant officers, petty officers, and stokers. They were just complaints. Ever since William the Second's accession to the throne Prussian militarism had laid ever more powerful hold on the navy. The haughty lieutenant, "whom none can imitate," is in a large measure blamable for the discontent of the men. No candid man will maintain that the navy was difficult to handle. On the contrary, it was an easy task to lead and to satisfy this splendid material. It was only necessary to show a little sympathy, to make the men feel that they were of the same flesh and blood as the officers, and they were at once touchingly willing and loyal, ready to suffer any hardships, ready to sacrifice their health—yes, even their very lives.

In addition to this, there was "the failing trust in our army," the irritation aroused by Tirpitz's interference with matters of organization that were really outside his province, and the depressing monotony of life and Prussian discipline in harbor, without the inspiration of active service.

But the gravest charge made against the Admiral is in regard to naval construction. Tirpitz was building Dreadnoughts when he should have been concentrating on submarines, and what is worse, was building them with less displacement than the British, less strongly armed, and of lower speed. Thus, in the battle off the Skagerrack "Had visibility been good, and had there been a resolute chief on the side of the enemy, the result would, according to all human calculation, have been disastrous for us." As it was:

Off the Skagerrack our fleet was preserved from disaster through the clever leadership of



WHAT AMERICAN SHIPBUILDING DID TO TIRPITZ, THE GERMAN SUBMARINE CHIEF
From the *Central Press Association* (Cleveland)

Admiral Scheer and the unskillful handling of the British fleet under Admiral Jellicoe, bad visibility working in our favor also. Had visibility been good and had there been a resolute chief on the side of the enemy, the result would, according to all human calculations have been disastrous for us. The British guns, with their much greater range, would have completely annihilated our less powerfully armed ships. The losses sustained by our fleet were enormous, in spite of the fact that luck was on our side, and on June 1, 1916, it was clear to all intelligence that this fight would and must be the only one to take place. Those in authority have often openly admitted this!

In regard to submarine warfare, Captain Persius declares:

Tirpitz never realized the power of the submarine. In 1914 he said to the American correspondent, von Wiegand: "Before the war I did not think that our submarines could remain away from their base for more than three days at a time, believing that the crew must by then be in a state of exhaustion." So that it was learnt during the war for the first time that submarine crews could remain for weeks at a time—seven—at sea! It is clear that, as the capabilities of the boats were not tested during peace-time no proper appropriation of them could be made in time of war, and no correct judgment formed of their needs as regards provisioning, etc. . . . From August, 1914, to March, 1916, when he was dismissed from office, Tirpitz collected only 80,455 tons of submarine material at our docks. He argued that that was all the docks were capable of dealing with. Contrary to this, the dock-

masters have announced that at that time an almost unlimited number of submarines could have been built.

Nevertheless, Tirpitz was the most violent agitator in favor of unrestricted submarine warfare, and resigned in March, 1916, because this policy, ultimately adopted in February, 1917, was considered premature by the Supreme Command. The trouble was that at neither date, according to Captain Persius, were there sufficient submarines to ensure effectiveness; and neither Tirpitz nor his successor took any strong steps to speed up construction. Not till von Scheer became Chief of the Admiralty

Staff in September, 1918, were an adequate number put in commission, when 333 were laid down.

Many people will be astonished at the number I have named—333. During the course of the war many fantastic rumors were current among us in regard to the number of our submarines. One heard of our possessing many hundreds, nay, even thousands. The number of boats ready for use at the front never reached the number 150, even reckoning in large, medium-sized, and small altogether. The submarines placed on order by Herr von Capelle at the dockyards would, if building were still continued, only be ready for use in 1919 and 1920—as far as the large boats are concerned.

GERMANY'S ADMISSION TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

IF you want another war leave Germany out of the League of Nations, and let her be the center of another League of all the nations that are now malcontent. If you do not want another war, then, whether you like Germans or hate Germans, whether you trust Germany or mistrust Germany, have her inside the League, bind her with fair covenants, watch her, talk with her, treat her fairly, leave her no ground for violent resentment, and be prepared to crush her instantly if she breaks her pledges, just as any other pledge-breaker under the League will be crushed. That is the way to safety. It is also the way which gives the best chance of eventually living down the passions of the war, and establishing some decent system of honesty and goodwill between nations."

This is the emphatic conclusion of a very earnest argument in favor of Germany's early inclusion in the League of Nations, which Professor Gilbert Murray, a prominent member of the League of Nations Union's Executive, contributes to the September issue of the *League of Nations Journal*.

The question is [he argues] whether we would sooner have Germany entirely free to do what she likes, or have her bound both by covenant and by inspection. If she is in the League she is bound not to make secret treaties or prepare for war, and she is compelled regularly to sit at table with the rest of the League, and discuss openly her plans and her wishes. If she is outside the League, she goes her ways alone. She is perfectly free to conceal her plans, to make secret treaties, and, so far as she can do it, to prepare for war.

To the objection that Germany cannot be admitted to the League because no one can trust Germany's word, Professor Murray replies that in international politics it is impossible to place absolute trust in anybody.

Moreover, there is no proposal that Germany should be admitted until (1) she has a stable government, which is really responsible for the action of the people; (2) has accepted the limitations of armament prescribed by the League; and (3) has, by whatever guaranties are thought practicable, convinced two-thirds of the members of the League that she intends to observe her obligations. There is no question whatever of an armed and untrusted Germany forcing herself into the League.

Professor Murray insists that there is no reason to fear Germany's alleged desire for revenge. "It is obvious to everyone in Germany that the policy of war has led to ruin; and, further, instead of an Imperial Government, based on the sword, Germany has now a Socialist Government based on universal suffrage, and traditionally hating the militarist party."

On the other hand, the admission of Germany to the League will not mean that she will at once sit on the executive and settle the future of the world, possessing the same influence as her victors in the war.

Admission to the League means admission to the Assembly, not to the Council. The Assembly will consist of some forty or fifty smaller states, with very little executive power, except on the occasions when the interest of one of them is concerned. Then the state concerned is summoned to take part in the Council with the present Big Five, and the four elected representatives of the smaller states. The Council is bound to consist of those states which are, as a matter of fact,

the most powerful in the counsels of the world; and it is, of course, quite possible that a time will arrive when Germany or Russia, or, say, Argentina, may actually be one of the most powerful states. Then the question will arise as to their admission to the Council.

Finally, the world cannot afford to keep Germany outside the League, as she would then be a black-leg power. Germany would then be free from all the obligations regarding open diplomacy, minimum wages, fair trade conventions, etc., which all members of the League have solemnly undertaken; and in competition with the other nations she would have an intolerable advantage by reason of her being outside. Only by bringing Germany into the League can we ensure that she shall be controlled by the same obligations which the Associated

Powers have agreed to impose upon themselves.

Remember, too, that if Germany stays outside the League, she will probably not be alone. There is a great deal of discontent in the world. China has at present refused to join the League; and her future attitude will depend on many things. The vast multitudes of Russia are certainly not friendly at present to the Entente powers, who, rightly or wrongly, keep blockading them and making war on them. The Turks can scarcely be expected to like us. There are great Moslem populations all over Asia and in parts of Africa who might be only too glad to join another league which is not ours, and which might help the Moslem world to throw off its Christian rulers. Hungary, Bulgaria, the revolutionary elements in Eastern Europe; all these are possible elements in another league—hostile to the true League—which would probably crystallize round an excluded and embittered Germany.

THE PROBLEM IN SOUTH RUSSIA

A WRITER in the *New Europe* (London) for October 16th outlines some of the administrative difficulties in South Russia which he says are economic rather than political. The Denikin administration thus far has been a weak one and its task is continually rendered more difficult by the extension of the territory over which it rules. The Bolsheviks are charged by this writer with the utter destruction of the complicated mechanism by means of which men are able to live and produce. Money has become almost valueless. This year's harvests have been bountiful—the best known for twenty years, but this bounty of nature has not been turned to good account:

The peasants have their barns full of corn, and their sacks full of paper money. Of money they have more than enough, and yet if they part with their corn, it is only more paper that they can get in exchange. So the corn is hoarded, and sacks of money are put away until something useful can be bought with it. And, meanwhile, in the towns there is scarcity of food. The trains, filled to overflowing with men sitting on the buffers and on the roofs, carry their human freight to the villages in search of food, and such food as can be obtained is bought at speculative prices, only to be sold again at a still higher price. This primitive method of food distribution came into existence under the Bolsheviks, and has never been remedied. So long as it lasts no proper use can be made of the carrying capacity of the trains. Food that could be carried on a few railway trucks requires ten times that amount when carried in small quantities by individuals, each with a sack of a few pounds on his back. The trains groan beneath the weight, and while each man in the towns has to struggle for his daily bread, there

is little time left for such vital work as the repair of the locomotives and the rolling stock. Under such conditions the ruble becomes of less and less value. In the early summer it stood at 200 to the pound sterling; at the present moment £1 will fetch as many as 500 rubles.



THE DOWNFALL OF BOLSHIEVISM

ATLAS-BOLSHIEV: "If I can't keep it up, it surely will flatten me!"
From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)

Suppose that Denikin's army succeeds in liberating Russia from the Bolsheviks, the danger of anarchy remains. The really vital problems that must be settled at once are, according to this writer, the stabilization of the currency, the supply of expert advisers for questions of food distribution, railways,

etc., and the encouragement of export and import trade. Foreign capital is necessary for the restoration of Russia, and that capital cannot benefit the country until the currency has been put on a sound basis. In short, the real problem is not so much military or political as economic and administrative.

ARMENIA'S MILITARY HERO



(C) Press Illustrating Service

GENERAL ANTRANIK

ON the first of November the Armenian military leader, General Antranik, sailed from Europe on a mission to the United States. This fact gives special timeliness to an article in the October number of *Blackwood's* by an English officer who was commissioned in December, 1918, by the British command at Baku to set forth for Zangezeur, there to attempt the relief of this Armenian commander, of whom he had not previously heard.

Antranik and his men, besieged by their enemies, was compelled to continue the struggle after the signing of the armistice, and in December, surrounded by 30,000 starving refugees, he was still holding out in the hope that the Allies would even yet send aid.

The English officer's party was the first that had reached Armenian Zangezeur for nearly a year. Met by a cavalry escort and by General Antranik's medical officer, a graduate of Boston University who spoke English fluently, the Englishmen were taken to the house of the president of the Armenian National Council, where Antranik was waiting to receive them.

Antranik was standing at the top of the open staircase [writes the English officer] wearing the undress uniform of a Russian major-general, with several decorations, and my first impression of him was that of a powerfully built man, of rather more than medium height. He has a big head, and large strong face. His hair is gray, and brushed back over his forehead in Bulgar fashion. His mouth, which is partly concealed by a gray mustache with the ends turned upward, seems at first almost cruel, but in his eyes there is humor and kindliness. Character is stamped on the whole face, and the strong grip of his hand, and the straight look in his eyes, made me feel at once that I was in the presence of a man. Later in the evening, when I saw his face in repose, he gave me the impression of being mentally exhausted, worn out by continual strain.

As I walked with him into the reception room, I felt that he was something quite different from anything I had yet met in Caucasia. His soldiers were the first real soldiers we had seen. I understood them now, for here was a man who knew what was meant by a soldier, and they were the reflection of his personality. Whatever he may or may not have done, instinct told me that here was a white man.

At the meal provided for us by our host, the President of the Council, four places were laid together—for General Antranik, S—, myself and my orderly. Not wishing to offend my host, but at the same time being uncertain how the general would take the presence of a private soldier sitting at his table, I asked his opinion "The British private soldier has won this war," was his answer. "I am proud to have one at my table." Later on, when the toasts were being proposed, he rose again and said, "I raise my glass to the English soldiers and the English mothers who bore them." His personality overshadowed every one. When he spoke every one was silent to hear what he had to say. If there was any point under discussion, "Pasha," as they call him, was asked for his opinion. If a story

was told, the speaker addressed himself to their hero. There is some sort of magnetic attraction in him which draws everything to him. I was already in his toils.

After dinner we had a private conference between Antranik, the Mussulman representative, and ourselves, to try to come to some arrangement by which his claims and those of the Tartars could be reconciled, and food brought through to the refugees. Antranik, obviously bitterly disappointed that the British, for whose arrival he had waited and dreamed through the dreadful hardships of the past year, should suggest even compromise with the Mussulmans, finally could contain himself no longer, and burst out in a tirade against the Mussulmans and their devilish massacres of Armenians. Antranik, angry in his country's cause, is a picture I shall never forget. Springing to his feet, the veins in his forehead swelling, his eyes flashing fire, his body quivering with passion, he shouted his defiance of the oppression of his race. Surely the inspired seers of the Old Testament were such as he. The storm quickly passed; once more he was outwardly the same strong, silent man, but his face showed more markedly than ever the physical exhaustion which the intense mental strain was producing in him.

So the day closed. My head remained neutral; my heart went out to this patriot warrior, who had kept his fainting band together with his own great heart and his undying faith in

the coming of the British to help them in their need. And now they had come, as it were, asking him to treat with his enemies, and about to sit in judgment on him.

At the midday meal Antranik refused to eat or drink, and was silent all afternoon. Later, with a view to helping these people, I asked him what supplies he could leave behind, if I guaranteed to get food sent to Devali for his men, to meet him on arrival there. Unable to contain himself longer, he burst out: "Go to the British and tell them that from this day I wash my hands of all dealings with the Allies. What money I have received from them I will pay back by the sale of my horses at Erivan. You have told me to cease fighting and await the settlement of the peace conference for the righting of our wrongs. Trusting in you, we have kept the peace to our own hurt, and waited patiently for our salvation. You say that we are to have an Armenia independent of the Turks. Soon there will be no Armenians left to populate it. You refuse to let us die fighting for our country and our lives, and condemn us to a death of shame by starvation. Thus far I have been loyal to you. I can bear it no longer. I shall go to Echmiadzin as I promised you. On arrival there I shall take steps I think right for the good of my people. If you tell me—aye, even if God shall tell me that here is justice to my people, I will deny it in His presence."

SYRIA AND THE PAN-ISLAMIC MENACE

AN important and outspoken article on the Syrian problem is contributed by "An Anglo-Indian" to the *Contemporary Review* (October). The problem of the Near East, of which the Syrian question is part, has been rendered more complicated, the writer insists, by the fortunes of the war.

The supposed moribund Ottoman Empire revealed a power of resistance, passive as well as active, that was not expected, and that discovery alone upset many plans. It was arranged that the Turkish Empire was to be broken up and distributed, that Russia was to get Constantinople, and that Asiatic Turkey was to be divided, for the greater part, between Russia, France and England. The novel element in the proposed solution was that Great Britain came forward as the champion of an Arab revival. The tripartite arrangement is dead, through the defection of Russia, except in so far as it defines the respective spheres of France and England, the two other signatories. The Arab movement, meanwhile, goes on in full flood, as it were, under the British ægis. It has been followed by an Anglo-Persian treaty, which may well seem to some critics to reveal a settled purpose to swamp the region of the Near and Middle East with British influence.

The revival of the Arab idea, which has been more or less coyly encouraged by the British Government since the beginning of last century, was an ambitious policy.



THE GEOGRAPHICAL RELATION OF SYRIA AND HEDJAZ TO TURKEY AND ARABIA



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SIX ARAB CHIEFS VISITING ENGLAND
(The Arabs are inspecting a captured German submarine)

Arabia had long been in a disturbed state. The Turks had some difficulty in keeping possession of the holy places, but with the aid of their German friends they were building a railway to Mecca that was to make their position stronger. The Grand Sheriff of Mecca, Hussein Ibu Ati, was opposed to this encroachment on his prerogatives. He repudiated Turkish authority, got the better to a certain extent of the Turkish garrisons, and proclaimed himself King of Hedjaz. This event occurred in 1916, just before the signing of the tripartite memorandum, and to some of our polit-

icals it seemed that this comparatively unimportant occurrence was a providential means of giving us a set-off to what had been surrendered in the North. The Grand Sheriff was formally recognized in his new royal title and welcomed to our arms. We introduced into our Near East policy the task of creating, upholding and extending an Arab state that was to extend to the Mountains of Lebanon and the banks of the Tigris.

For many generations this question of designating the religious Head of the Muslim has been constantly agitated, and the King of the Hedjaz has been one of several possible candidates.

But one of the unexpected results of the war has been to strengthen the Sultan of Turkey's claim to this religious headship among his co-religionists in India. All my information from that great dependency goes to show that the King of Hedjaz counts for even less than when he was merely Sheriff of Mecca. British policy, by coquetting with the unknown, has committed itself to the less popular candidate. Our effort to supply Islam with a new pontiff on the assumption that the Sultan of Turkey was dead and done for, did not look so very wise or promising, but it seems even more dubious with all of us at loggerheads as to what is to be done with Constantinople, and the Sultan sitting tight and trusting to Kismet!

Pan-Islamism is by no means a force that can be ignored; and a Pan-Islamic outbreak may easily offer as great a menace to the world as the Prussianism that we have just overthrown. Now, the British dependencies which are driven like a wedge through the heart of Islam, in Africa as well as Asia, form the first barrier against any such outbreaks.

So long as we provide the curb and the restraint on any movement of this kind, we can count on the support and co-operation of France and other Allied states; but how can this be assured if we provide a new energy and impulse by substituting for the lethargic, if not effete Turk, the aggressive and virile Arab?

THE RISE OF A NEW ARAB NATION

THE admission of Arabia to the family of nations is the subject of an article in the *National Geographic Magazine* (Washington, D. C.) for November by Frederick Simpich. This writer is impressed by the far-reaching possibilities of the new situation created by the exit of the Turks and the entrance of British diplomacy:

Ministers and consuls, missionaries and merchants may now reside, explore and trade in this long-forbidden country. Light will fall where darkness lurked, and this vast geographic unit of

the old Ottoman Empire will no longer be merely a blank space on the world's map.

Arab tribal wars will end. Bedouin clans, like the Jebbel Shamars and the Anaeza, nomad outlaws since the wild days of Ghengiz Khan and the invading Timur, will now have to be good. British supervision will protect the trading caravans, and pious pilgrims may go to Mecca in peace and safety.

Whether the new religious head of Islam actually resides in Mecca or in Cairo will not affect the predominance of Mecca and Medina, so famous in Mohammedan history. For the British will be there; and the Moslem faith has always been as much of a political as a religious force.

This writer sees in the founding of a new Arab state under British control the beginning of closer and more confidential relations between Christian and Moslem nations. It also seems to signify a gain to civilization in Britain's increased prestige over Moslem peoples in India, Asiatic Russia, Persia and elsewhere.

Writing in the *Nineteenth Century* for October on "The Future of Arabia," Lieutenant-Commander Cyril Cox discusses some of the political and diplomatic aspects of Arabia's new status among the nations. He argues thus:

To restore Arabia to the Turkish Government is out of the question. Turkey in Arabia has already ceased to exist, to the advantage of both parties. Arabia has been a white elephant to Constantinople and Turkish rule has been the curse of Arabia. To leave the people of Arabia to their own devices is equally unthinkable, for such a course would condemn the country to a perpetuation of the present state of medievalism and internecine warfare.

Administration by some civilized power, combined with full recognition of the autonomy of the various tribes, affords the only chance of the regeneration of Arabia. The task is not going to be an easy one. Before anything can be done toward agricultural and industrial development it will first be necessary to establish an armed police force of considerable strength to suppress brigandage, and to guard the property of the set-

tled population from the ravages of the predatory nomad tribes. Concurrently with this establishment of a police force, the work of building roads and railways and of constructing harbors must be carried out. Until lines of communication have been prepared, the maintenance of order will be extremely difficult, and isolated units of the police force will always be in jeopardy. When, however, all these preliminaries have been accomplished, the development of the country will follow rapidly and spontaneously, especially in Yemen and Asir, where the national resources offer every prospect of a rich reward for the introduction of civilization.

What is to be the *quid pro quo*, how the mandatory power is to receive compensation for the responsibilities and expenses incurred, are questions which do not appear to have been seriously debated up to the present. Presumably there must be some kind of financial agreement between the mandatory and the other members of the League of Nations whereby the expenses at any rate will be shared. But this and many other questions remain to be settled by the delegates in Paris. The first thing is to find the nation which will volunteer to become the mandatory for the administration of Arabia, and the next thing is to persuade the many rulers of that country to forget their quarrels and to lend their aid to the great work of regeneration. The makers of the new Arabia may well be said to be undertaking a task compared with which the labors of Hercules were trivial, but they may rest assured that, if only they can persevere until success crowns their efforts, their memories will some day be blessed by many thousands of thriving and contented people.

SCANDINAVIAN UNITY

FROM time to time a league of the Scandinavian states has been discussed as a political possibility, and in the general resettlement of Europe, now taking place, the question assumes a new interest. The similarity of the peoples of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark in regard to racial type, language, and culture has always been regarded as an argument in favor of union. During the world war, moreover, these countries were obliged by the suspension of normal international commerce to rely very largely on each other for the necessities of life; and this fact, involving a much closer personal intercourse and coöperation, has been hailed as a step towards the achievement of a political league.

Apart, however, from the new situation created by the League of Nations, there are serious obstacles to any such policy, and these are admirably put by Mr. Chr. L. Lange, the Secretary of the Inter-Parliamentary

Union, in an article on "Scandinavia: Past and Future Policies," contributed to the *International Review* for October.

Mr. Lange begins by pointing out that though, during the war, the three Scandinavian countries found a common demonstration in a policy of neutrality, their conception of neutrality had a very different tinge in each case. Thus, in Denmark, popular sentiment, influenced by financial connections with Great Britain, was "overwhelmingly anti-German." Norwegians, also, were decidedly pro-Ally, notwithstanding the fact that their commercial interests were about equally concerned with both sides. The depredations of the German submarines on Norwegian shipping meant a tragic loss to Norway; but on the other hand great inconvenience was caused to her by the blockade, and England adopted the drastic measure of stopping the import of coal and coke to the country. The pro-Ally "tinge," there-

fore, of Norwegian neutrality may fairly be regarded as due to high principles.

Sweden, as we know, at any rate up to the autumn of 1917, when Mr. Branting took office, leaned, at times very flagrantly, to the other side. Besides these underlying differences in sentiment, Sweden is credited with having regarded "Scandinavianism as a chance of hegemony in the North"—Sweden being by far the most powerful of the three states—and this has always been a cause of Norwegian hesitation to adopt the idea. Mr. Lange sums up the position as follows:

The absolute necessity of political and economic co-operation during the four years of war has, of course, powerfully influenced the Norwegian attitude toward "Scandinavianism." Especially the intense inter-Scandinavian commerce during 1917 and 1918 created the necessity of common consultation in the most different walks of industrial life. Stock had to be taken of wants and of possibilities of mutual help. A host of "inter-Scandinavian commissions" were at work, and closer personal relations were created than perhaps ever before. In the wake of this followed a Swedish proposal, at once enthusiastically supported from Denmark, of creating three parallel associations, under the common name of "Norden"—the autochthonous word for "Scandinavia"—destined to serve as centers, in each of the countries, of all efforts toward Scandinavian unity and fellowship. The undertaking had a rather difficult

birth, due to Norwegian skepticism and hesitation. When, ultimately, an imposing number of representative Norwegian personalities joined, all reference to political coöperation had been struck out, and the stress was laid on the need for mutual information as to social and economic conditions and to currents of opinion in the other countries.

I think this may be taken as significant of the prospects for "Scandinavia" in the near future. Nobody expects the intense coöperation during the war to cease at once; this would be both ungrateful and ungracious. Besides, in many walks of life coöperation is natural and will certainly continue. Universities will exchange lecturers; scientists and authors, students and workmen, will meet in congresses and exchange ideas and experiences; where practicable, the parallel legislative efforts will be continued in order to avoid conflicts of law; possibly also facilities may be created for interchange of products in so far as this is possible without infringing on the prospects for a fuller measure of international free trade.

"But here the coöperation will certainly stop." A customs union "would entail too stringent conditions on the economic freedom of each of the partners." The idea of arranging a Scandinavian "group" within the League of Nations has met with no favor in the countries concerned. In short, the symptoms point to a continuance of voluntary coöperation rather than to any organized political grouping.

PEACE AND COMMERCIAL STRUGGLES IN PAN-AMERICA

THE Spanish review, *Nuestro Tiempo* (Madrid), in a recent article by Vicente Gay, gives us another angle of the "Pan-Hispanic" movement which, fostered by German intrigue, is ostensibly aiding a closer union between Spain and Central and South America, though in reality it is designed to sever relations between the United States and the countries south of her. The danger of such propaganda against this country can hardly be overestimated, particularly at this moment of world reconstruction and the resultant clash of national interests.

The Great War, says Gay, had its real foundation in the commercial struggle between England and Germany—though various reasons have been given. Germany's rapid invasion of the commercial field threatened England's "commercial hegemony" (established during the Napoleonic wars) because "her (Germany's) methods were surer than England's and her penetration in trade more rapid."

"England noted Germany's commerce was supplanting hers, making her lose ground, and the question arose of introducing some method stronger than competitive commerce in the struggle: the force of arms!" In this way England could eliminate Germany and dominate the markets of the world (!)

During and after the war the Allies formulated economic barriers against Germany. Once the war was over, idealism flew out the window and greed entered the door.

The United States gained great trade opportunities owing to its late entry into the war; its merchant marine, built for war purposes, was greatly augmented by the seizure of German ships. The great army now existent has vastly strengthened the United States' hold on world affairs. Previously, "the United States had no army—its lack of land (military) power forced it to restrain its desire to invade Mexico, intensified its action against Spanish America, and therefore to put off the question of Japanese

influence in the Pacific." To-day all this is changed.

Will the United States renounce its advantageous trade position created by the war? Most certainly not. German statisticians figured (1912) that the United States had the greatest combined export and import trade with South and Central America, with England a close second and Germany third. The United States led in goods imported from South America, England in goods exported to this territory. With Germany now almost eliminated from the field most of its former trade will probably go to the United States.

The traditional tendency of North America is well known. Pan-Americanism, which was propagated by the United States, holds as its final aim, not a tendency to form a commercial culture of all America, but to better reserve all action in America to the North Americans. . . . The Monroe Doctrine should be interpreted "America for the Americans—of the North!"

The United States, according to Señor Gay, desires to convert all America into a "vast sphere of Yankee influence," not only by diplomacy but by "violent annexation" as is shown in the case of Porto Rico and Panama!

An American publicist, Manuel Ugarte, has written an open letter to President Wilson in which he complains of the oppression of South and Central America by the United States. He states that an attempt is being made by United States business interests to oust French, German, English, Belgian and almost all other "respectable" merchants of our time. He complains of the present condition of Cuba, Nicaragua, Porto Rico, Colombia, Panama, the Port of Guayaquil, the archipelago of Galapagos. He desires the freedom of the heroic Philippines (although Aguinaldo himself does not want this), the withdrawal of "the sword of Damocles suspended over Mexico," non-interference in Putamaya, the unhanding of Santa Domingo. He concludes: "We seek, in short, that a star-spangled banner may not be the symbol of oppression in the new world!"

The United States is now, in effect, the banker for Central and South America. Even in 1915 a bill passed by Congress convoked a conference of American republics to treat the common financial interests. Thus to-day is realized the "gigantic plot of Yankee capitalism" against North and South America!

Germany's success in American commerce depended on two factors; superior goods and

better terms of sale. Her commercial successors have not followed this splendid system, says Gay.

At the economic conference of the Allies at Paris Mr. Gide (a French professor) and the publicist Gustavo Le Bon both expressed their opinions as favoring "interdependence of countries" (in opposition to tariff barriers). A natural conclusion to this stand is that America needs Germany.

Should Germany succeed in establishing internal peace, its force will be enormous. Such a peace must come, from the very nature of the German people, and its advent will have the following consequence: with its mottoes "cheap and practical" and "Necessity sharpens genius" Germany is sure to regain its lost commercial position—unless high tariff barriers are raised against it throughout the world.

Let us suppose Germany shut out by tariff walls—shall we not see from fifteen to eighteen millions emigrating beyond the sea? It will be a world calamity if Germany is not allowed to feed its numerous population! While England holds the seas she can strangle all foreign commerce: this in spite of "the pretended freedom of the seas which Wilson included in his fourteen points." An English official (writing in the *United Service Institute*, 1909) admitted that England's wars were based on commercial considerations. Trotsky says that an English writer recently confessed to him that the economic future of the world was based on capitalism.

Señor Gay concludes: "The future war will come in a well known and more intimate circle between the English fathers and English sons, and America will be the scene of the contest."

The readers of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS will note in the foregoing article the whole vicious circle of German reasoning: In brief, England was to blame for the Great War because Germany was outstripping her commercially! Next comes the familiar misrepresentation of the United States, as a greedy, vainglorious nation profiting by Germany's elimination from American commerce and forcing Pan-Americanism on the other republics as a purely selfish measure. Finally, the preposterous "freedom of the seas" is dragged forward by the scruff of its neck and the world threatened with war between England and the United States caused by commercial jealousies (and, apparently, the elimination of German competition).

AN AMERICAN NEWSPAPER MAN ON BRITISH NEWSPAPERS



MR. CHARLES H. GRASTY (CENTER) LEAVING
THE FRENCH MILITARY HEADQUARTERS

NO one connected with American journalism has had better opportunities of late to observe and appraise British newspapers than Mr. Charles H. Grasty, of the *New York Times*, whose work as correspondent during the war took him frequently to England and brought him in touch with the leading newspaper staffs of London and the Provinces. The comparative study of British and American daily journalism that Mr. Grasty contributes to the *Atlantic Monthly* for November is therefore of peculiar interest and value.

At the outset Mr. Grasty admits that the British press has several marked advantages over our own. First among these he places the vast range of interests of the British Empire which form subject-matter for daily comment in the British press. Of even greater advantage to that press is the British system of government. This point would not be so clearly understood by the American layman as by the journalist. As Mr. Grasty explains it, where Parliament acts directly as agent of the people and they have the power of enforcing their views at any moment, all news about the government is de-

cidedly live matter. As Mr. Grasty puts it: "A big debate in the House of Commons has the sporting interest of a prize fight. It is for blood and not mere 'Hippodrome.' The Ministry may fall and if it does a new one must be provided, largely by newspaper readers." Contrast with this situation the lack of interest in the debates of our own Congress.

Since our American reading publics are not interested in the same things that appeal to the readers of the British newspapers, our newspapers are compelled to find ways to interest and educate their publics. In England those ways are ready made for them. Mr. Grasty thinks, for example, that we probably do not print a greater volume of criminal news than does the British press, but it is more in the foreground here. The British papers all use the same kind of matter, but it is snugly tucked away, always on the same page and under modest headlines where the British reader never fails to find it. In Mr. Grasty's opinion this kind of matter is even more carefully read in British than in American papers. Our tendency to sensationalism produces an inferior make-up in American newspapers. Mr. Grasty finds that the London papers "may have a high degree of life without any sensationalism at all." For this and other reasons they are better made up than ours. So too, our headlines, in his opinion, are inferior to the British.

On the average, the London papers seem to Mr. Grasty to be better written than the American, and this is especially true of editorials, or "leaders," as they are called over there. Writing is more of a profession in England than in America and writers are bred from generation to generation. But in conceding superiority on the average Mr. Grasty excepts the editorial writing that may be found in a few of our American papers, "which is of a high literary quality and perhaps excels in force." He greatly admires the pictorial quality in the English leader that makes the points more easily understood. As an illustration he recalls a single sentence in the *Morning Post* editorial on the Asquith Cabinet just before its fall: "Asquith folds his hands; Sir Edward Grey wrings his hands; and all the rest rub their hands."

THE PRO AND CON OF DAYLIGHT SAVING

THE Daylight Saving Law was repealed by an overwhelming vote in both houses of Congress, notwithstanding the veto of the President. Prof. T. W. Patrick, of Iowa State University, is not content to see his measure pass into history as a freak of the times, and he takes pains, in the *Scientific Monthly*, to explain the psychology, not only of the law but of the conditions which led up to its passage.

The theory of gradual transposition of night and day as a result of perfecting the electric light and substituting the automobile for the horse-drawn vehicle is interesting; and makes it apparent that the daylight saving law attempted to meet a condition, not a theory. The eight-hour day has arrived, and the large majority of persons living in urban and suburban communities will spend their hours of play after the end of the working period. This will tend still further to advance the hour of retiring, with a consequent later rising hour.

It was unfair, said the opponents of the plan, to force the whole country to get up an hour earlier simply because city folks didn't know enough to rise and retire early. But it was a war measure. The opponents of the plan obeyed the law, in the emergency, because they knew that the City of Vienna reduced gas consumption in one summer through the daylight saving plan by 158 million cubic feet, saving \$142,000; that England saves annually \$12,500,000 of coal; and that the United States was estimated to have saved \$25,000,000 annually. Our coal is not going to last forever, and we can save enormous economic loss.

Nearly the entire country approved the plan, and almost the only exception was the embattled farmer. Professor Patrick, who comes from the center of the district most strongly opposed to daylight saving, proceeds to dissipate the objections by explaining the psychology of the situation. First, he takes up the contention that the farmer must work in the fields in the hottest hour of the day instead of retreating from twelve to one (old time) to lunch in the shade. Professor Patrick says that this savors of newspaper ink rather than new mown hay, and that every farmer knows and every thermometric chart will show that the hottest part of a summer's day is between two and four in the afternoon (old time), usually between two and three.



WHERE "DAYLIGHT SAVING" NOW RESTS

From the *Chronicle* (San Francisco)

In midsummer, in the Mississippi Valley, the maximum temperature occurs at about three o'clock, while even at six the temperature has fallen often only three degrees Fahrenheit. The great difference between the temperature of the first morning hour of the working day and the last evening hour reveals the advantage of the new plan to all workers during the hot weather, since it substitutes the cool morning hour for the hot evening hour.

The next argumentative ten-pin which Professor Patrick knocks down is that of the mothers, to the effect that they could not get their children ready for school in time, since it began an hour earlier. He says:

The reply to this is, of course, that school does not begin an hour earlier but at precisely the same time, namely, at nine o'clock. If the children are accustomed to get up at five, six, seven or eight o'clock, they should continue to do so under the new plan and would have the same time for preparation as before. It is probable that the children slept later under the new plan and they slept later because they sat up later. In other words, they did not fully accept the daylight-saving plan, but made a change in their hour of retiring, when it came into effect.

The dairymen raised perhaps the greatest protest with what seems to some the least cause. Although Professor Patrick does not take the position that the city people are the dairymen's customers and hence entitled to a great deal of consideration from the dairy-

men because of business reasons, it seems strange that barbers, who open their shops at seven and hence must arise at least an hour earlier, are among the advocates of the plan. If the new schedule compels the dairyman in some instances to get up before daylight in the summer, he gets up before daylight all winter anyway. It must not be forgotten that the farmer works long hours and is none too highly paid; but it must be remembered that in order to get milk to the door of his city customer in time for breakfast, the farmer must get up before daylight in some instances. Professor Patrick says:

Seen in this light, the other difficulties experienced by the farmers fall into their proper perspective. In advocating the repeal of the law the farmers have laid special stress upon the difficulties. First, owing to the dew, the early morning hour is favorable for farm work. And second, if to avoid this the farmer begins and ends his day's work at the former time, his hired men make trouble, since they wish to stop work when the town and city people do. Furthermore, if the farmer works an hour longer than the city people, he is late for any entertainment or meeting which he may wish to attend in the city in the evening. As these difficulties were presented to the country, they were offered as separate and cumulative objections. They are, of course, alternatives. If the farmer begins his work an hour earlier than formerly and experiences trouble from the dew, he does not experience the other troubles, and *vice versa*.

Perhaps none of these difficulties is so serious as was imagined. The complaints about the dew came principally from the farmers of the Mississippi Valley and pertain only to haying and harvest time. The dew does not interfere with other farming operations, such as plowing, disking, seeding and planting and cultivating corn. During harvest time, as the dew is sometimes on the grass and grain until nine or ten o'clock, it is often in

any case necessary for the farmer to begin and end his work at later hours. The need of synchronizing farm and city hours of labor during three or four weeks of the year is not so great as to ask a whole nation during the whole summer to begin its day's work an hour later in the morning and live by artificial light an hour later at night.

It is probable that the farmers themselves, when the matter has been accurately presented to them, accustomed as they are to rise and retire early, will welcome a change which shall encourage other people to do the same.

It turns out, therefore, that the objections to the daylight-saving law are rather petty and not of serious moment.

Professor Patrick goes so far as to say, in his study of the psychology of daylight-saving, that if the clock were shifted for the entire year, instead of only part, we would soon be getting up still later, simply because of the psychological fascination of artificial light and certain predilections for night life. As life becomes more complicated and interesting, it is increasingly difficult to get through the day's duties in the usual time; we sit up later at night, and sleep later in the morning.

The undisputed benefits to health in general from spending waking hours in sunlight rather than artificial light; the advantage in saving of eye strain by the use of natural light for one hour more during each day of the summer months; and the increased opportunity for persons employed in the nervous industries to get out doors and indulge in the physical exercise so necessary for the prolonging of life in the sedentary occupations are only part of the advantages to be gained. Another hour of sunlight will help.

EFFORTS TO SOLVE THE SERVANT PROBLEM

THE perennial servant problem has recently become so acute that no one can fail to be interested in any plan that holds out the slightest prospect of affording a solution. The shortage of servants in the United States at the present time may be gauged in somewhat definite terms by means of data reported by the Employment Service of the Department of Labor. The Woman's Division of that service has recently declared that, according to figures at hand, the 1920 census will show "an accelerated shift in 'females engaged in gainful occupations' over the 27 per cent. shift of the thirty years pre-

ceding 1910, out of domestic service." It is further stated that "domestic work is the one industry for either sex in which Employment Service offices have had labor surplus at no time during the past year and a half." A tabulation for two typical weeks in recent months shows that in one week the net excess of demand over supply of servants was 2492, and in the other week it was 2941; indicating a labor shortage of 40 per cent.

These figures are quoted in an article on "Efforts to Standardize the Working Day for Domestic Service," by Mary T. Waggoner, published in the *Monthly Labor Re-*

view (Washington, D. C.), by way of introduction to a summary of "recent movements which indicate that the servant problem is being analyzed and practical efforts are being put forth to solve it." The article deals especially with experiments recently made in New York.

The organization in January, 1919, in New York City of the Committee on Household Assistants under the auspices of the United States Employment Service was the outcome of the constant shortage of domestic servants, which was found not only in every New York City branch employment office but also in similar branch offices in various parts of the State. This shortage ran from 50 to 66% per cent.

In the late fall and winter months of 1918 numbers of women had been dismissed from munition factories who had formerly done domestic work, but when such work was offered them again it was rejected. They preferred the factory, with its shorter working day and Sundays off, and an improved social status. If housewives were to get any help in their homes it was clearly to be seen that they would either have to draw such help from the group available from stores, offices, and factories or from a class of women having their own homes and families who could do part-time work but were not able to meet business and industrial requirements. The United States Employment Service therefore organized the Committee on Household Assistants.

The efforts of the committee were first directed to the task of educating public opinion in behalf of a plan which was so novel that it naturally encountered much opposition, due alike to prejudice and inertia. It is set forth in outline as follows:

Regular eight-hour assistants engaged to be exclusive employees for the housewives (preferably working for no one else at the same time) and engaged to work quite as permanently as ever servants do. They give eight hours a day, six days a week. They eat and sleep at home. They agree to give extra service whenever required, for which they are always to receive extra pay. The wage is determined according to a sliding scale of efficiency and length of time in employment, and does and should compare favorably with that which obtains in factory, shop and office. These assistants are engaged for regular specific duties, just as resident maids are, but—and here is to be found the safety valve never existing in our present order of domestic service—never, under any condition, is specialization permissible. During the eight hours they hold themselves ready to do whatever the circumstances of the particular day require.

Although the Committee on Household Assistants soon exhausted the funds available and was therefore obliged to discontinue its experiments, its final report contains the following optimistic statement:

The five weeks' effort has proved beyond the shadow of a doubt the reliability and responsibility of the home assistant. The task which lies before us is that of training her and making her efficient. The experiment has accomplished its fourfold purpose. An enormous demand on the part of employers has been established; a new source of applicants has been tapped; public interest has been demonstrated, and most important of all it has been clearly proved that the eight-hour day home assistant is a solution of the domestic problem and capable of adjustment to many different homes, while a definite method of establishing this system has now been satisfactorily worked out.

The same report is perhaps especially noteworthy as indicating the enlarged field from which it is possible to recruit "household assistants," as compared with the available supply of servants of the traditional type. The applicants are thus grouped in five natural classifications:

1. The married, trained, and heretofore, resident domestic who seems to be the best adapted at present for the home assistant, principally because of her long years of training.
2. The high-school graduate interested to take up this profession instead of going into business.
3. The young business woman who really likes housework and finds she can be a part-time home assistant while studying.
4. The married woman who has her own home and understands the problem of household work. One or two of this type have even had their own maids. One or two have grown children and wish to become wage-earners.
5. The business women and school teachers who can get the benefit of a change of occupation by becoming home assistants during the summer months at the seashore and in the mountains.

The household-assistant system is also under trial in Philadelphia, Providence and Hartford.

The article here abstracted deals briefly with "cooked food agencies" as a help toward solving the servant problem from the employer's standpoint, and with the organization of domestic workers as a help on the servant's side of the problem.

A unique association of workers is the Progressive Household Club of Los Angeles, organized to provide "a cheerful and welcome home for the domestic" out of service or taking a rest. The club is a recreational center with educational features, lectures being frequently given to the members. Prior to the war, classes in English for foreign girls were held twice a week, but these classes were abolished as immigrant pupils were no longer forthcoming. The members of the club are reported to be of a high-grade type and expect first-class wages. The employment office of the association procures jobs free to its membership.

PRINTING WITHOUT TYPE IN NEW YORK CITY

THE printers' walkout in New York City, beginning on October 1, led to new and strange developments in the production of periodicals. It was found that the ordinary processes of typesetting, whether by hand or machinery, could be eliminated through the use of photo-engraving. Typewritten manuscript was photographed and etched on zinc plates. This having been done, lithographic presses (not involved in the strike) could be employed for reproduction in quantity. The *Scientific American* transferred its editor's long-hand copy directly to its editorial page by this method.

A leading trade journal, the *Dry Goods Economist*, scored a triumph of persistent effort by utilizing the mimeograph for its entire edition of 13,000 copies and turning out a 64-page periodical. All of the work was done by hand, from typewritten stencils placed on an ordinary rotary mimeograph machine.

Some of the weekly periodicals missed as many as half-a-dozen issues. Others used ingenuity, energy, and substitute processes to maintain unbroken service to their readers. What new methods will survive in competition with the old, time alone can tell.

The Independent

FOUNDED 1888
Including Harper's Weekly
PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY
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THE INDUSTRIAL IDEAL

An Editorial

By Harold Howland

THE INDEPENDENT comes to you this week in this curious and inadequate form because there is a strike among the printers of New York City. The workmen printers have made demands upon their employers which not only are extravagant and excessive but involve a violation of the contract which the employing printers had made with their employees thru their unions. In this strike there is not merely a question of differences concerning wages and hours of labor, but a question of fundamental principle. Shall the workers organized in labor unions be bound by their oath word, or shall they be free to break their promises at will?

This printers' strike is only one of many which are disturbing industry, not only in this country but in England and other countries of Europe. We are in a time of acute industrial unrest. What will the outcome be? An even more important question is, What ought the outcome to be?

A PORTION OF THE "INDEPENDENT" AS ISSUED FOR THE FIRST TIME IN SEVENTY YEARS WITHOUT TYPESETTING

(The typewritten manuscript of this editorial was photo-engraved on a single plate.)

SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN

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Printing of the Future

The compositors' walkout led to the appearance of this issue in which the pages are typewritten and transferred to the stone by a photographic process. The blottout, somewhat crude tho' it be, suggests the ultimate elimination of composition and typesetting, with all the resulting economies. Some time ago the suggestion was made of using paper or metal signs, arranged in lines or columns, and photographed down to printing size. There is a long step between the present issue and the commercially practicable method of the future. Herein lies a promising field for research and inventive skill.

PART OF THE SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN'S EDITORIAL PAGE AS IT WENT TO ITS READERS ON OCTOBER 25
(The editor's "copy" reproduced in fac-simile.)

DRY GOODS ECONOMIST

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(Not having missed an issue in more than seventy years, the *Dry Goods Economist* made itself independent of both typesetters and printing presses.)

RAILWAY TRAVEL AT HOME AND ABROAD

A FEW years ago most Americans would not have admitted that there was room for a difference of opinion concerning the relative merits of American and European passenger trains. The European visitor to this country was expected to bracket our railways with Niagara Falls and the stockyards in paying homage to American institutions to which the Old World boasted no rival. If he did not, it was because he was a hopeless victim of prejudice and old-fogeyism.

At that period a mild sensation might have been created by such assertions as are offered by our cosmopolitan fellow-citizen Owen Wister in the *Saturday Evening Post* under the title "According to a Passenger." Mr. Wister has a very comprehensive acquaintance with railways on both sides of the ocean, and he sums up a comparison of passenger trains in the two continents in the words: "They have borrowed our good points, while we could still borrow to advantage one or two of theirs."

The three requisites of passenger service, he says, are, in the order of their importance, safety, comfort and speed. In the matter of safety a pretty general impression has grown up among us that we are far below the European standard, but Mr. Wister's comparisons under this head are comforting. In 1914,

On the Pennsylvania Railroad there were 16 collisions and 12 derailments of passenger trains according to reports made to the Interstate Commerce Commission, as compared with 109 collisions and 73 derailments of passenger trains on English railways according to reports made to the Board of Trade. There were no fatalities and 563 injuries to passengers from train accidents on the Pennsylvania Railroad, and 33 fatalities and 723 injuries to passengers from train accidents on the English railways.

There were 9 fatalities and 873 injuries to passengers exclusive of those occurring in train accidents on the Pennsylvania Railroad, and 117 fatalities and 2918 injuries on the English railways. As the English railways carried only five times as many passengers one mile as did the Pennsylvania Railroad the numbers of fatalities both in train accidents and from other causes on the Pennsylvania Railroad compare favorably with the English railways.

As to speed, they have always surpassed our quickest schedules, and these were slowed down a good many years ago. Before the war we no

longer had the five-hour trains between Boston and New York, the eighteen-hour trains between New York and Chicago, the hour trains between Philadelphia and Atlantic City; and now the hour-and-fifty-minute trains between Philadelphia and New York are no more. Those fastest Atlantic City trains beat anything in Europe, but this was over a short course; we had nothing equal to the two-hour London and Birmingham schedule, 112 miles; the 118-mile run in two hours from London to Bristol over the Great Western, or the 150 miles in one hundred and fifty minutes—excluding two minutes' stop at St. Quentin—between Paris and Erquelines over the Northern. Their list of fifty-miles-an-hour trains was longer than ours; and of forty-five-miles-an-hour trains they ran easily four or five times as many.

Mr. Wister complains that American trains have a habit of starting and stopping with a violent jerk; that we have few high platforms from which to board our cars, while in England, even at small wayside stations, you step in and out on a level; that our roadbeds are less solid than those of English roads, and hence we fail to achieve smoothness of motion at any speed. All this applies only to long-distance express trains; local and suburban accommodations in England and on the Continent are said to be inferior to ours. As to other details that affect comfort he says:

During the years from 1870 to 1919 I have traveled in the trains of every important railway in the United States, England and France, not to speak of other countries. This period has seen many changes in the appearance of cars both outside and in, the introduction of many important appliances and in general a great stride toward perfection. This is true of engines as well. The best European train you could find in 1870—with negligible exceptions in Switzerland—locked up its passengers six, eight or ten, according to class, in a compartment, wherein you sat far less privately than you sat here among a crowd of sixty, and whence you could not get out for any purpose whatever until the train stopped and the conductor came along outside and unlocked the door for you.

On the other hand, the separation of passengers into first, second and third classes was a sensible recognition of differences in purse, precisely like that of our hotels, which have always had rooms of various prices according to their size, furniture and locations. On our trains the poor man had to pay just as much as the rich for his journey, and more than the poor man in Europe. We presently camouflaged classes by parlor car and sleeping car. Later we added tourist sleeper, thus establishing three classes without embarrassment to democratic consistency. We bury our head in the sand of phrases and beat any ostrich going.

SOME YOUNG WRITERS OF COLOMBIA

AN interesting fact about most of the literary men of South America is their ability to write good poetry as well as prose. It does not surprise us, therefore, to find this true of many of the young authors described by Gonzales Pans, the well-known writer of Bogota, in a recent issue of *Cuba Contemporanea*.

Were one to meet Cornelio Hispano quietly pacing the streets of Bogota one would hardly suspect the wayfarer of the "refined spirit" mingled with "Attic brilliance" that he possesses. His work—both prose and verse—approaches a Hellenic ideal. He himself ascribes his chief inspiration to Luciano Rivera Garrido, "that fine Caucañ" (inhabitant of the district of Cauca), all heart, all nobility, all love for beautiful things." Hispano's first verses were written at Garrido's death. From him he received his admiration for Reman, whose cult he follows.

His prose works on Bolivar, the Liberator, are written in a solemn key, but are calm, serene, clear. His poetic trilogy is divided into three schools of thought. "The Garden of the Hesperides" is pure Hellenic; "Legenda de Oro" is the early Christian period; "St. Jerome" and "Elegias Caucanas" are present-day pastorals of Cauca. His prose is limpid, fluid, full of sense and sweetness—even in his historical studies and such works as "De Parais Amazonas."

The "Periodistas" (writers of periodical literature) show the dual faculty of verse and prose writing above mentioned. Miguel Morena Alba is an Atlantic Coast writer most of whose work is in *La Nacion* of Barranquilla: his forte is political prose and poetry. Hernando Zawadzky presents military policy and the complicated affairs of his country in *El Relator*; his style is notable for its fire and beauty. Benjamin of Moreno, as director of *La Epoca* (a daily published at Cartagena) has strong influence on local politics. Emilio Robledo raises, in Manizaleo, a voice which has great force in the department of Antioquia. "He has written good verse in addition to his valuable contributions to political literature."

Carlos Arturo Pinzen (son of the celebrated author of "Idolo fori") is, primarily, an essayist. His "Prosas of Esbozos" is a compilation of critical essays of the first rank. He is a gallant cultivator of *belles lettres* of present-day Colombia.

Editor, literary critic and historian, sociologist—such is Gabriel Porras Tronconis, editor of *La Revista Contemporanea*. His caustic satire has been a strong influence toward national culture.

In Gustavo Arboledo R. we find a deep student of history who is publishing a contemporaneous history of Colombia. The style of his "Brazil Throughout Its History" is marked by an unusual richness of documentation which betokens a vast collection of material.

Louis Concha Córdoba (the son of former President Dr. José Vicente Concha) is a new palladin of Catholicism. He is a modern in tendencies and of undisputed talent. In his magazine, *Catholicism*, he is fighting a modern battle for his faith.

One finds novel and short-story writing rather neglected in Colombia. Francisco Nino Torres occupies his leisure at the university by writing psychological stories. José A. Gutierrez seeks to portray Colombian life in the warmer portions of the country—but rather unsuccessfully. Enrique Pardo Farelo (pen-name "Luis Tablanca") writes little tales, genuinely national, of the "popular classes."

Arturo Suarez, born in the mountains of Antioquia, has written two Creole novels, "Montanera" and "Rosalba," both strictly Colombian in flavor, excellent pictures of types, personages and customs of his native mountains. He is an able dissector of character.

Cromos (an illustrated weekly) gives scope to the varied ability of Miguel Santiago Valencia, poet and playwright. His "Adela" was produced in 1913 in Bogota. He is genuinely Parisian in his knowledge and refinement.

El Grafico—an illustrated weekly but little inferior to *Cromos*—is a strong factor in the work of civilized Colombia. *Voces*, of Barranquilla, has published the work of many young authors. Some of these are Julio Enrique Blanco, a young philosopher and follower of Kant; Enrique Restepo, a profound and caustic writer; Hector Parias, whose poems in prose are notable; Julio Gomez de Castro, writer of fine criticisms and literary evaluations, and Ramon Vinyes, a Catalan transplanted to Colombia, whose appreciation of authors, books and places is beautifully set forth in numerous writings.

THE NEW BOOKS

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, REMINISCENCE

Elizabethan Sea-Dogs. By William Wood. New Haven: Yale University Press. 252 pp. Ill.

Colonial Folkways. By Charles M. Andrews. New Haven: Yale University Press. 255 pp. Ill.

The Quaker Colonies. By Sydney G. Fisher. New Haven: Yale University Press. 244 pp. Ill.

The American Spirit in Literature. By Bliss Perry. New Haven: Yale University Press. 281 pp. Ill.

The editors of the "Chronicle of America" series have succeeded wonderfully in selecting widely separated chapters and episodes of American history and presenting them in a way that attracts the present-day reader. The authors of the books, in several instances at least, are dignified professorial gentlemen whose literary efforts heretofore have been hardly known outside of strictly academic circles. In this series, however, they do not appear as pedants but as men who have really interesting stories to tell, and to help them reach an audience the editors have seen that the stories are not long drawn out, that they are clearly printed on good paper, embellished with the best of illustrations, and in every way made to "look readable." One would have to go far to find a more entertaining book of adventure than "Elizabethan Sea-Dogs," by William Wood, or a more delightful and intimate account of the life and manners of our forefathers than Professor C. M. Andrews' "Colonial Folkways." So, too, the chronicle of "The Quaker Colonies," a story that has been told before, is related by Professor Sydney G. Fisher with just the modern touch that is needed to give it actuality with the reader of to-day. As to Professor Bliss Perry's volume on "The American Spirit in Literature," we can best describe it as an interpretation. Its modern viewpoint is indicated by the choice of Walt Whitman's portrait for a frontispiece. Professor Perry's incisive comment on American authors has been made familiar to thousands through the medium of the magazines. Such readers will in no way be disappointed in the present volume.

A Golden Age of Authors. By William Webster Ellsworth. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 304 pp. Ill.

Mr. Ellsworth's book of recollections of the *Century*, its editors and contributors, and the group of American authors who flourished in the last two decades of the nineteenth century and the first of the twentieth, is easily the most entertaining volume of its kind, from the biographical standpoint, that has appeared during the present year. Mr. Ellsworth saw the whole history of the magazine, its development from the old *Scribner's Monthly* under the editorship of the late

Richard Watson Gilder and Dr. Holland and the building up of the *Century Company* under the leadership of Roswell Smith. The glimpses that Mr. Ellsworth gives us of Mark Twain, Frank Stockton, John Hay, Joseph Jefferson, Augustus Saint-Gaudens and other notables of their generation are so thoroughly life-like that the reader's only regret will be that Mr. Ellsworth has not given more of them.

Canon Barnett, Warden of the First University Settlement, Toynbee Hall, Whitechapel, London. By His Wife. Houghton, Mifflin Company. Vol I. 392 pp. Ill. Vol. II. 415 pp. Ill.

Not a little of the inspiration for work in university settlements in America came from the example of Toynbee Hall in Whitechapel, London. The warden of that settlement, the late Canon Barnett, exerted remarkable personal influence in London for many years. Mrs. Barnett, who was known quite as well as her husband in settlement work, is the author of these two very interesting volumes describing his life, work and friends. We have here the whole story of the university-settlement movement as it developed in London.

A Pelican's Tale. By Frank M. Boyd. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 315 pp. Ill.

A volume of chat about London personalities of the past half-century on and off the stage. The author is the son of the Very Rev. A. K. H. Boyd, of St. Andrew's, whom some of our older readers will identify as the author of "Recreations of a Country Parson."

Dunsany the Dramatist. By Edward Hale Bierstadt. Boston: Little, Brown & Company. 244 pp. Ill.

In view of Lord Dunsany's visit to this country, publication of a new and revised edition of Mr. Bierstadt's authoritative account of his work and personality is especially timely. Mr. Bierstadt outlines Lord Dunsany's plays and gives their history, together with a critical appreciation of each.

Old Days in Bohemian London. By Mrs. Clement Scott. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 272 pp. Ill.

The widow of the famous dramatic critic, Clement Scott, gives in this volume recollections of many of the stage celebrities of the opening twentieth century in London. Gilbert and Sullivan, Ellen Terry, Sir Henry Irving, Beerbohm Tree, Sarah Bernhardt, and Mrs. Patrick Camp-

bell were among the personal friends of the Scotts with whom these reminiscences are concerned.

Mr. Punch's History of the Great War. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 303 pp. Ill.

The War in Cartoons. Compiled by George J. Hecht. E. P. Dutton & Co. 207 pp. Ill.

Raemaekers' Cartoon History of the War. Compiled by J. Murray Allison. Volume II. 216 pp. Ill.

"I Was There": With the Yanks in France. Sketches by C. LeRoy Baldridge. Putnam.

Readers of this periodical will be especially interested in various collections of war cartoons which are making their appearance. Chief among those of recent publication is "Mr. Punch's History of the Great War," containing 170 drawings and a narrative resumé of political and military events from month to month throughout the conflict. *Punch* may not have developed a worthy successor to Tenniel, but its staff has maintained its reputation as the world's foremost cartoon journal. The drawings selected include many in

lighter vein, which perform a useful function in interpreting living conditions at home and in the trenches. One hundred American cartoons, representing some of the best work of twenty-seven illustrators, have been brought together in a modest attempt to tell the story of "The War in Cartoons." Mr. Hecht, who compiled the book, served with the Committee on Public Information, at Washington, in charge of its Bureau of Cartoons. The most widely known of all the war's cartoonists is Louis Raemaekers of Holland, whose drawings are being published here in four volumes, two in the series having already appeared and the third being about ready. Opposite each cartoon in both Mr. Hecht's and Mr. Raemaekers' collections the reader finds text explaining the situation which suggested the cartoon. In Private Baldridge's volume there are brought together the numerous sketches he made on the battle front and in camp as cartoonist for the American army's paper, *The Stars and Stripes*. Some of his spirited drawings are already familiar to the folks at home through their subsequent use on Liberty Loan posters. Private Baldridge was without doubt our leading soldier cartoonist.

BOOKS OF TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

Holland of To-Day. By George Wharton Edwards. Philadelphia: The Penn Publishing Company. 293 pp. Ill.

We have had occasion in former years to direct the attention of our readers to the descriptive volumes written and illustrated by Mr. George Wharton Edwards. Of these, "Vanished Towers and Chimes of Flanders," "Vanished Halls and Cathedrals of France," "Alsace-Lorraine," and "Some Old Flemish Towns" are among the most noteworthy. The present volume, "Holland of To-Day," while dealing with a more static topic, in no wise falls behind the others in artistic charm. The sketches of Dutch scenes, several of which are reproduced in color, are all distinctive and executed in the best of taste. As in his earlier works, Mr. Edwards has concerned himself quite as much with the people themselves as with the land that they occupy and the buildings and other public works that they have erected.

My Italian Year. By Joseph Collins. Charles Scribner's Sons. 306 pp.

This is not merely another war book, although it is made up of observations and reflections by its author during the last year of the war. Dr. Collins was an important official of the Red Cross in Italy during that year, but he had been a visitor to the country many times in preceding years. He has long been a keen student of the land and the people, and in this book he describes Italian political and social conditions and analyzes the Italian temperament and tendencies.

Wanderings in Italy. By Gabriel Faure. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 291 pp. Ill.

In reading the descriptive passages of M. Faure's book one wanders with him far from the established routes of Cook's Tours and encounters

names that do not frequently appear in the conventional gazetteers, but as a guide-book in the broader sense the enlightened traveler could hardly do better than adopt M. Faure's suggestions. The reader quickly discerns his love of nature and in his pages the artistic sense of scenic values is irrepressible.

Paris and Her People. By Ernest A. Vizetelly. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 316 pp.

Mr. Vizetelly's acquaintance with Paris spanned the whole period of the Third Republic, from the war and the Commune of 1870-71 to the close of the Great War in 1918. Probably no man of English birth has had a more intimate knowledge of Parisian life during that entire period than the author of this volume. He knew nearly all types of celebrities—actors, authors, artists and politicians—but he also knew and loved the common people. His recollections of a remarkable generation of Parisian life have gone into the making of an unusually interesting book.

The Paris of the Novelists. By Arthur Bartlett Maurice. Doubleday, Page & Company. 299 pp. Ill.

A few years ago, in "The New York of the Novelists," Mr. Maurice showed us how easily and naturally a study of the haunts of authors in a great city may develop into a kind of glorified guide-book for all whose sympathies and tastes are fed by literature. In his new book, "The Paris of the Novelists," he employs similar methods, and in the greater range of interests attains even more fascinating results. He has chapters on "The Paris of Victor Hugo," "The Paris of Thackeray and Dickens," "About Paris with Alphonse Daudet," "Bohemian Trails," "Zola's Paris," and "The Paris of Some Americans."

Through Egypt in War-Time. By Martin S. Briggs. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 280 pp. Ill.

Those who think they know their Egypt from travelers' accounts written before the war or even from their own experience as tourists will find much entirely fresh material in this volume, the work of a Sanitary Officer of the British forces in Egypt, who traveled thousands of miles over territory not hitherto frequented by Europeans. He gives a vivid, picturesque account of Egypt as the British soldier saw it.

California Desert Trails. By J. Smeaton Chase. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 387 pp. Ill.

A readable, humorous account of a horseback ride in the Colorado Desert of Southern California

—a region that heretofore has largely escaped detailed description by travelers, but which is likely to be visited more frequently in the future, since the Government has begun the marking of roads and water holes.

The Wilderness of the Upper Yukon. By Charles Sheldon. Charles Scribner's Sons. 364 pp. Ill.

Mr. Sheldon's account of his explorations for wild sheep in sub-Arctic mountains, which originally appeared in 1911, has become one of the standard books of its class, and the present revision, with new preface, maps and appendix serves to supply still more completely the demand for reliable accounts of this wild region.

BOOKS OF SPECIAL TIMELINESS

The Adventures of the Fourteen Points. By Harry Hansen. The Century Company. 385 pp. Ill.

Mr. Hansen shows us how even so serious a topic as the Peace Conference has its humorous aspects. Of course if his book were merely amusing we should not think it worth while to commend it to our readers, but it is far more than that. Without being argumentative or dogmatic it presents controversial matters in an informational way. In other words it reports the intensely serious debates at Paris not for their own sake but rather because of the relation that they bore to the things that really happened—the ultimate decisions of the Conference. It does this brightly and dramatically—in short, as if it were just what the title indicates, a story of adventure. Mr. Hansen has been fortunate in his selection and grouping of materials. Not every writer is gifted with so keen and unerring a sense of proportion.

The Strategy of the Great War. By William L. McPherson. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 417 pp.

A reprint of studies of the campaigns and battles of the war in their relation to Allied and German military policy which originally appeared in the Sunday issues of the *New York Tribune*. The first six chapters of the book deal with the general principles underlying German and Allied strategy, while the other fourteen chapters analyze the battles and campaigns in which the working out of these principles is illustrated.

The Remaking of a Mind. By Henry de Man. Charles Scribner's Sons. 289 pp.

This unusual book attempts an interpretation of important issues now before the world in the light of the development of the author's own ideas under pressure of war experience. Mr. de Man was a Belgian soldier, but before the war he had been one of the leaders among the International Socialists of Europe. With Liebknecht he founded

the Socialist Young People's Federation and endeavored to throw the weight of international labor organization against the war. When his country was invaded he enlisted in the army and served throughout the war, winning the Belgian War Cross and the British M. C. His internationalism is not merely nominal, for before the war he had lived and studied in Germany, Austria, England, France, Holland, Italy, Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries. That his views were profoundly influenced by the war is shown by his frank admission of a conscious departure from Marxian socialism.

The Strategy of Minerals. Edited by George Otis Smith. With an Introduction by Franklin K. Lane. D. Appleton & Company. 371 pp.

The pressure of war brought to many of us for the first time a realizing sense of America's controlling position as producer and possessor of mineral wealth. This position is preëminent in peace as well as in war, and if we are to profit as a nation from the dearly bought victory we must so organize our industries as to make the most effective use of these great natural resources. With this end in view, "The Strategy of Minerals" has been prepared by a group of experts in the Government service and edited by Director George Otis Smith of the United States Geological Survey, with an introduction by Secretary Lane. It forms a serviceable compendium of up-to-date information regarding America's mineral wealth.

Creative Chemistry. By Edwin E. Slosson. The Century Company. 311 pp. Ill.

Dr. Edwin E. Slosson, of the *Independent*, is better known as a journalist than as a chemist. But as a matter of fact, he had been a professor of chemistry long before he became the literary editor of the *Independent*. His experience in journalism, however, has apparently given him a new mode of approach to the popular treatment of scientific subjects. Technicalities have no place

in his book, but his simple, straightforward account of modern chemical processes leads in every instance to a practical result. Many who have never supposed that they could penetrate the mystery of modern chemical science will find in Dr. Slosson's chapters clear and convincing explanations of much that has never before been presented to them in a language that they understood.

Industrial Mexico. 1919 Facts and Figures. By P. Harvey Middleton. Dodd, Mead and Company. 270 pp. Ill.

A series of up-to-date answers to many questions that American business men have been asking of late. We often hear assertions as to the great natural wealth of Mexico but until recently the facts have usually been wanting to support these generalizations. Mr. Middleton knows the country thoroughly and is an optimist regarding business conditions there. In this volume he writes on "The Mexican Oil Industry", "What Mexico Needs", "Mining in Mexico", "Agriculture in Mexico", "Sugar and Coffee", "Mexican Timber", "Manufacturing", "Railways", "Shipping Facilities", and "Credit and Banking".

Who Are the Slavs? By Paul R. Radosavljevich. Boston: Richard G. Badger. Vol I. 538 pp. Ill. Vol II. 601 pp. Ill.

These volumes attempt an answer to a question that has probably aroused more interest among the English-speaking peoples during the past five years than in the preceding five hundred. Not merely the superficial traits of the Slavic peoples, but the fundamental physical and mental characteristics of the race are discussed with great fulness. The handicaps with which the Slavs have been loaded through all the centuries have not prevented the emergence of great individual leaders in various spheres. They are proud of Copernicus, the discoverer of our solar system, of Tolstoi and Turgenyev, of Paderewski—not to mention other names almost as famous in modern civilization. There are more than 160,000,000 Slavs, and it is important that we of the western nations should understand their race psychology.

Ireland and England. By Edward R. Turner. The Century Company. 504 pp.

Professor Turner has sought to present both sides of the Irish question fairly and in so doing must perforce displease extremists in both camps. Yet in the main his statement of the historical relations between England and Ireland will be generally accepted as accurate. He believes that Ireland will get self-government as soon as Irishmen agree among themselves.

TEUTONS AND TEUTONISM

Modern Germany. J. Ellis Barker. E. P. Dutton & Company. 496 pp.

The author of this work is an Englishman who has devoted practically a life-time (he was born at Cologne) to the detailed study of German political and social conditions. The first five editions of the present work were published before the outbreak of the Great War, and indeed pointed to the probability and danger of an attack by Germany upon European civilization. The present volume, as the title-page announces, has been "entirely re-written and very greatly enlarged." It is, in fact, a new book under an old title. The book has already been used as a textbook in certain American universities, and will doubtless have an even wider range of usefulness in the future.

Germanism from Within. A. D. McLaren. E. P. Dutton & Company. 383 pp.

This volume also is the work of a British author who has been for thirty years a close student of Germany. He attempts here to analyze the German character as revealed in those tendencies that culminated with the war. His knowledge is based on intimate contact with the German people in every part of the Empire.

German Social Democracy During the War. By Edwyn Bevan. E. P. Dutton & Company. 280 pp.

The data chiefly drawn upon for the preparation of this volume are the printed utterances by the German leaders from the outbreak of the war up to the fall of the Michaelis Ministry in October, 1917. This material is now presented in English for the first time as a consecutive narrative of events.

Germany's New War Against America. By Stanley Frost. E. P. Dutton & Company. 190 pp.

A clear statement of the present situation, as respects German competition with American industry and commerce. Especially illuminating are the chapters on "Dyes and Chemicals," "The German Metal Octopus," and "The Huns' Trade Spies in America." An introduction to the volume is supplied by Attorney-General Palmer, who was former Alien Property Custodian.

Germany's Moral Downfall. By Alexander W. Crawford. The Abingdon Press. 217 pp.

A series of essays on German materialism and militarism.

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